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A GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN ERA.

FOR CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND READING CIRCLES,
AND FOR SELF-INSTRUCTION.

VOL. I.

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE.

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BY

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PREFACE.

In this series of three volumes, "A General History of the Christian Era," the term *general* is used in opposition to "ecclesiastical," "special," etc., as the books, whilst confined to the most important period of the world's events, contain all the features of general histories of this class.

The aim and spirit of the work is outlined on page 17. "As Jesus Christ, the God Incarnate, is the center of all history, so the divine institution of the Primacy of the Holy See and the Independence of the Catholic Church is the center of the history of the Christian Era. Most of the great historical contests since the coming of Christ were waged around the Rock of St. Peter. It is impossible to understand and appreciate the course of human events in its proper meaning and character without giving full consideration and weight to these two central facts of history." (Introd., § 3, No. 12.) On the other hand, all non-Catholic or anti-Catholic historiography, touching the Christian Era, starts from the false supposition that the Spiritual Supremacy of Rome, the Independence of the Catholic Church, and the "Sacerdotalism" of the Middle Ages, are merely human claims and inventions, historical developments of the natural order of things, highly useful, indeed, for the education of the barbarian, but institutions which could be set aside with impunity and advantage after they had answered their purpose. In this fundamental position of opposing schools, a truce is impossible. Accordingly the works of non-Catholic historians lavishly quoted in these volumes, are recommended for their able and often eminent historical researches in the field of secular knowledge, and not for their religious or ecclesiastical views.

The division of the work into three parts: "The Papacy and the Empire," "The Protestant Revolution," "The Social Revolution," is based on the character of the respective

periods. Boniface VIII. was the last Pope of the type of Nicholas I., Gregory VII., Alexander III., and Innocent III., who, to a great extent, had shaped the polity of the Middle Ages. Accordingly the second half of the reign of Philip the Fair opens a new period. The transfer of the Papal residence to Avignon, the great Western Schism, the Conciliar Movement, the Renaissance, are *distinctly* causes of the approaching Protestant Revolution. Similarly the political issues raised by the so-called Reformation exhausted themselves in the last war of Louis XIV., the War of the Spanish Succession. The period immediately following, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, *distinctly* exhibits the causes of the Social Revolution. In either case, the remote causes of the two upheavals mount up still higher; the causes of the Protestant Revolution to the policy of Emperor Frederic II., and the literary movement inaugurated under his protection; and the causes of the French and European Revolution to the principles advocated by the Puritan Levellers and the rebellion of Dr. Martin Luther. But whilst they confirm the continuity of history, they were not distinct enough to foreshadow the nature of the consequences. Whilst, then, the periods thus treated are very different in length, their character furnishes a sound principle of division.

During the first three centuries of the Christian Era, there were Christians, but there was no Christendom. Christendom, as represented by Christian art, civilization, polity, public law, public worship and life grew out of the migration and settlements, chiefly of the Teutonic and Slavonic nations and their contact with the earlier Greco-Roman and Celtic races under the fostering care of the Church. For this reason the *purely Roman* history of the Christian Era has been treated by way of introduction.

The work is intended to serve as a guide for Catholic college students, reading circles and for self-instruction. In the classroom it will serve the purpose of consecutive reading. The private student will find ample references to enlarge his reading on any historical question of importance within the period, in which he may be interested. Reading circles will find more than sufficient matter for any number of essays or debates by consulting the book lists.

As to the use of the book in the class-room the author begs leave to make the following suggestions: —

1. Before reading the text of a period or section, the corresponding tables topically arranged, should be carefully memorized and frequently repeated. The tables are both sufficiently short and comprehensive to be easily mastered and yet to furnish a general framework of the chief historical events.

2. After the dates and events grouped together in the tables are thoroughly mastered, the careful reading of the texts with occasional explanations of the terms by the teacher will aid to fill the skeleton frames with concrete facts and living persons.

3. It may be of advantage to have a few select questions from the tables answered in writing at each recitation and the papers exchanged and corrected on the spot by students, the teacher proposing the exact number of points contained in the answers.

4. The time left over from strict classwork may be profitably spent in taking up some of the more important or controverted questions at the hand of articles or passages of standard works as quoted in the book lists.

While the author is not so vain as to imagine that he has produced a perfect work — a perfect history of this size and aim is practically an impossibility — he can truthfully say that he has devoted much time and care to its compilation; and he will be sincerely thankful for fair criticism and any helpful suggestions that may be kindly offered.

I desire to express my sincere gratitude to Very Rev. James A. Rockliff, S. J., the Revs. Otto Pfülf, S. J., Athanasius Zimmermann, S. J., Thomas Hughes, S. J., Francis X. Pilliod, S. J., for their valuable and generous assistance in revising these volumes.

Buffalo, N. Y., April 21, 1903.

The Author.

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE LISTS OF BOOKS FOR CONSULTATION.

A. C. Q. 9, 25. = American Catholic Quarterly. Vol. 9, p. 25.

D. R. '79; 1, 2, 3, 4. = Dublin Review. 1879. January, April, July, October.

M. '90; 1, 2, 3. = Month. 1890. Jan.-April, May-Aug., Sept.-Dec.

St. 40, 110. = Stimmen aus Maria Laach. Vol. 40, p. 110.

I. K. Z. '85. = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie, Innsbruck. 1885.

E. H. R. 10, p. 250. = English Historical Review. Vol. 10, p. 250.

E. R. '68; 1, 2, 3, 4. = Edinburg Review. 1868. Jan., April, July, Oct.

Q. R. '91; 1, 2, 3, 4. = Quarterly Review. (London.) 1891. Jan., April, July, Oct.

C. T. S. P. = Catholic Truth Society Publications.

St. of N. S. = Story of Nations' Series.

H. P. B., v. 90, p. 112. = Historisch Politische Blätter. Vol. 90, page 112.

H. J. B. = Görres Gesellschaft: Historisches Jahrbuch.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

DIVISION OF RACES.

1. The different nations of the earth are divided, according to language, into three chief races:

(1.) The Aryan or Indo-European (Indo-Germanic) race (from Iran, the "land of light" of the ancient Persians).

(2.) The Semitic race, the inhabitants of southwestern Asia, whence they spread eastward into Asia, westward to Africa and Spain. The origin of the Egyptians is not established. They have traces of both Semitic and Indo-Germanic descent.

(3.) The Turanian race (from Turan, the "land of darkness" of the ancient Persians). Under this term we comprise all the nations that are neither Aryan nor Semitic, whether they descended from a common stock or not, and whatever may be the distinctions among themselves.

IMMIGRATIONS INTO EUROPE.

2. We suppose from ancient history, that the Turanian or non-Aryan races were the first to enter Europe. The Aryan stock, starting from their seat in ancient Iran, separated into eastern or Asiatic Aryans (Persians, Hindoos), and western or European Aryans (Kelts, Greeks and Romans, Teutonic and Slavonic nations.) The first to come, before the times of recorded history, were the Kelts, or Celtic Aryans, who occupied parts of southern Germany and northern Italy, Gaul, Spain, and the British Islands, everywhere displacing earlier Turanians.

The second Aryan immigration brought the Greeks and Romans, who occupied the two peninsulas of Greece and Italy.

Teutonic Aryans immigrated from Asia by a northern route; this too was previous to the era of recorded history; they settled east and northeast of the Kelts. In Scandinavia they were the first Aryans to arrive, and drove the Turanians (Finns and Laps) to the farthest North.

3. The following is a table of the principal races and nations, of whom the present volume has to treat: —

TABLE OF NATIONS.

I. Aryans of Asia: Persians, Medes, Armenians and Hindoos.

" of Europe: 1. The Celts or Kelts.

a. Gauls.

b. Britons.

c. Gaelic or Irish nations, *Scots, Picts.*

2. The Greeks and Romans.

3. Teutonic races: —

a. Goths, Ostrogoths, Visigoths (Alans, probably semi-Tartar), Vandals, Gepids (the loiterers, a lower Gothic tribe.)

b. Scandinavians or Northmen.

c. Germans:

aa. Low Germans: Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Frisians.

bb. High Germans, Alamanni, Suevi, Thuringians.

d. Burgundians.

e. Lombards.

4. Slavonic races:

a. Czechs.

b. Poles.

c. Lithuanians, Letts, Wends, Russian Slavs.

II. Semitic Races: The Jews, Phoenicians or Chanaanites, Arabs or Saracens.

III. Turanian Races: Non-Aryans of Europe (Southern division): —

a. The original inhabitants of Sardinia, Corsica, parts of Sicily.

b. Ligurians.

c. Iberians and Basques.

Turanians of Asia and Europe (Northern division): —

1. Finnish Turanians:

a. Finns and Laps; b. Bulgarians; c. Chazares; d. Magyars or Hungarians.

2. Turks:

a. Huns; b. Seljuks; c. Ottomans.

3. Mongolic Turanians: —

The hordes of Jenghiz Khan, of Timour Beg (Tamerlane), and the Moguls of India.

4. Tungusic family: Mantchoos, Tartar Conquerors of China.

5. The negro races of Africa and most of the Indian tribes of America.

The History of the Middle Ages resulted from three elements: the Barbarian and chiefly Teutonic elements, conquering the provinces of the Roman Empire; the Roman element imparting its civilization to the conquerors; and the Christian or ecclesiastical element moulding this newly formed European society into one system of polity called Christendom.

Books for Consultation. — *Freeman's Historical Course; General Sketch*, pp. 1–18. — M. '77, p. 100. *The Races of Man.* — H. W. Lucas: *Early Aryan Society*, M. '77, III. p. 406. — *The Religion of the Aryans*, M. '81, II. p. 473; III. p. 62.

§ 2.

THE ANCIENT WORLD.

4. The Ancient Monarchies. — Four Empires or monarchies, i. e., powerful states ruling over many tribes and peoples speaking different languages, preceded the Roman Empire. Assyria with its capital Ninive, probably an independent kingdom for a thousand years, wielded imperial power from about 1300 to 625 B. C. The Empire was overthrown by an alliance of the Assyrian vassals Cyaxares the Mede and Nabopolasar, viceroy of Babylon. Babylon now became the seat of Empire, 625–538. Its greatest ruler was Nabuchodonosor. His grandson Baltassar lost Babylon to Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire, who placed Darius the Mede as viceroy over Babylon. When the dynasty of Cyrus became extinct, Darius Hystaspes gave to the Empire its satrapial system and its permanent form, about 500 B. C. The last Persian Monarch, Darius Codomanus was defeated by Alexander the Great in the battle of Arbela, 331 B. C. The new Greco-Macedonian Empire fell asunder with the death of Alexander, its founder. Out of its ruins arose, besides smaller states, the Greco-Macedonian kingdom, the kingdom of the Seleucidae in Syria, and that of the Ptolemies in Egypt. During the period between the fall of Alexander's and the rise of the Roman Empire Greek culture and philosophy spread throughout the civilized East.

Meanwhile Rome, rising from little beginnings, had entered upon its policy of expansion. The Romans were strong in military valor, but stronger still in their genius for organization. A city-state, Rome first conquered and absorbed surrounding city-states of equal strength. Thus reinforced she began to attack confederations of

cities and tribes formed against her. In a series of wars undertaken against the powerful Samnites, but extending to the Gauls in the north and the Greeks in the south, central and southern Italy became Roman. In the course of the long and desperate struggle with Carthage she added Gallic Italy, Spain, northern Africa and other Mediterranean countries to her possessions; the fall of Carthage left her mistress of the West. The eastern states were too weak to resist her victorious legions. At the time when her political development from kingship to democracy, from democracy to aristocracy, had reached the Empire stage, the conquest of the civilized world was on the whole completed. This period coincided with the coming of Christ.

5. **Paganism.** — All these monarchies were pagan monarchies. Paganism is the turning away of fallen man from the one true God and His law. The "gentiles" (heathen, pagans), began to worship many gods (polytheism), such as the stars of heaven (sabaism), the elements, the earth, all sorts of animals, their statues and images, even sticks and stones (fetichism). Others paid religious veneration to demons or subordinate spirits, to ancestors, to emperors and kings, living or dead (apotheosis), or to the personified virtues and vices, even the most shameful of men and women. Still others, who had a philosophical turn of mind, put the visible universe in the place of God (pantheism), or dreamt of two hostile divinities, the good and the evil (dualism), or deified mere matter, the flesh and its desires (materialism), or recognized a blind necessity, to which even the gods were subject, as the highest power (fatalism). The insufficiency and absurdity of all these human inventions landed many in universal doubt (skepticism).

6. **Character of Paganism.** — These false doctrines led to an ever-increasing corruption and immorality which manifested itself in idolatry, superstition (oracles, auguries, auspices, magic arts), human sacrifices, the burning of children to Moloch in Phœnicia, Syria, Carthage, the burning of virgins and princes among different nations, the drowning of old men and captives of war in honor of the gods among the ancient Romans and Teutons, the numerous immolations of men of all classes among the Gauls, the frightful orgies connected with public worship.

In the moral order paganism demoralized private, family and public life, and produced the degradation of women, the exposition of children, the treatment of strangers as enemies and outlaws and of the poor as outcasts, the total lack of all charitable institutions, the absence of the very name of humility and charity; the universal curse of slavery with its disregard of all the natural rights of man and its corrupting reaction upon the families, especially the children of the masters; the horrors of cannibalism among savage

tribes. Thus, to give a few instances, in Rome the father exercised the right of life or death over his wife, could dismiss her when she was old, could expose his children and crucify his slaves. Under the law of the Twelve Tables an insolvent debtor was handed over to his creditor or creditors; he might be sold as a slave, or he might be cut into as many pieces as he had creditors. Even in Seneca's time he was obliged to sell his children at public auction. On the other hand, the pagans retained some rays of the truth. The traditions of a better state in the beginning, a *golden age* and its loss, the memory of the great flood, a more or less vague and perverted idea of a Supreme Being, are found among all nations. They were capable of practicing natural and civic virtues, patriotism, gratitude, frugality, fortitude, endurance. The idea of justice as between citizen and citizen was developed to a high perfection in the private law of the Romans. But it was chiefly through the intercourse of pagan nations with the Hebrew people, that truths of the primitive revelation which had been lost, were revived among them.

7. The Chosen People. — Of all ancient nations the Israelites (so called from Jacob = Israel) "the chosen people" were alone in possession of the true religion, a direct divine revelation. In Abraham God gave them their ancestor and the promise, that the Redeemer would issue from his family. Through Moses He freed them from the bondage of Egypt, and gave them the Decalogue, judicial and ceremonial laws and a high-priest. According to their national or Mosaic law, God himself was the immediate ruler of Israel (theocracy). Under the Judges they conquered Canaan, the promised land, and formed for 450 years a theocratic republic with the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant as their national center. Then followed the introduction of the kingdom, 1099 B. C. (Saul, David, Solomon), the building of Solomon's temple and, after Solomon's death the separation of the one into the two hostile kingdoms of Judea and Israel, 975 B. C. Rapid as was the decay of the chosen people God did not abandon them. He sent them prophets to preserve uncorrupted amid error and sin the doctrine of the One True God, to keep alive the faith in the promised Redeemer, and to announce the time of His coming. All the sacrifices, ceremonies and institutions of the chosen people were types of the expected Savior. The dignities of the three representatives of God, the High Priest, the Prophet and the King, were to be united in the Redeemer of the world.

8. The External Mission of the Hebrews. — Of utmost importance was the providential mission of the Hebrews to revive the worship of the true God (monotheism) and the knowledge of His moral law among the heathen nations. Placed by Providence on the highway of nations, where the commercial roads and caravans of Europe, Asia and Africa intersected each other, they came in contact with all the ancient monarchies. The prophet Jonas was sent to Ninive to preach penance to king and people, and for a time succeeded in his task. The conquest of the kingdom of Israel by the Assyrian king Salmanassar, 722 B. C. and the dispersion of its inhabitants over a belt of land reaching from Ninive through Media to Cabul, placed a people still preserving many revealed truths into the midst of a vast heathen population. The prophet Nahum gave the last warning to Ninive by predicting the overthrow of the Assyrian power. Still closer were the relations between the Jews and the Babylonian and Persian Empires. Nabuchodonosor overran Judea with his armies, burned the temple, and carried a large number of Jews into the seventy years' Babylonian captivity. Daniel's miracles and prophecies before and after the overthrow of the Babylonian Empire induced both Nabuchodonosor and Cyrus to issue imperial decrees addressed to all their subject nations, which distinctly proclaimed the existence and ruling power of the true God. When Cyrus permitted the Jews to return to Palestine and rebuild the temple, the greater part of them remained in Babylon and spreading further east, carried with them the knowledge of God. Before setting out to conquer the world, Alexander the Great paid a visit to the high-priest Jaddus at Jerusalem, and authorized the Jews to establish a colony in Alexandria. From Egypt the Jews spread over the neighboring countries of Africa, Asia and Europe, till, in the days of Augustus, they were found in every corner of the Roman Empire. Thus it happened, that when the time of Christ's coming approached, many pagans embraced the worship of God, rejected their heathen practices, and adopted the moral precepts (proselytes of the gate) and even the ceremonies of the Mosiac law (proselytes of justice). On the other hand, this intermingling of the Jews with other nations reacted on themselves. Sects like those of the Pharisees and Saducees, political parties favoring the adop-

tion of Greek manners and learning (Hellenism), dangerous schools of philosophy arose among them. Their worship of God became merely external and tinctured with intense fanaticism, national pride and hatred of the gentiles. The great majority expected in the coming Messiah not a Redeemer who would deliver them from error and sin, but a conqueror who would free them from the Roman yoke.

Books for Consultation. — E. R. G. Rawlinson: *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World; A Manual of Ancient History.* — F. Lenormant: *Ancient History of the East.* — St. Augustine: *The City of God (De civitate Dei).* Doellinger-Daniell; *The Gentiles and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ; Heidenthum and Judenthum.* — A. Thebaud, S. J. *Gentilism or the Religion of the World before Christ.* — H. Formby: *Compendium of the Philosophy of Ancient History; Monotheism. The Primitive Religion of Rome; Ancient Rome and Its Connection with the Christian Religion.* — Ozanam: *History of Civilization in the Fifth Century* (Chapters on Paganism). — Alzog — Pabisch — Byrne: *Manual of Universal Church History.* I.: *The Ancient World and its Relations to Christianity*, pp. 62-135. — Rev. P. Baudin: *Fetishism and Fetish Worshippers.* — Card. Hergenroether: *Kirchengeschichte*, I., pp. 21-57. — Lassaulx: *Studien des Classischen Alterthums.* — Whiston: *The Works of Josephus Flavius.*

§ 3.

THE COMING OF CHRIST.

9. Preparation for the Coming of Christ. — The ancient world had to pass through all the various stages of external progress and internal degeneracy in order to learn by sad experience the insufficiency of its natural resources, and the need of a divine Redeemer. The better class of Romans looked with horror and despair on the prevailing corruption. The belief was widely spread among the gentiles, both in the Orient and the Occident, that a deliverer would come from the East, while the Chinese expected him from the West. The political condition of the world, which closely united civilized and barbarian nations under the Roman Empire, had prepared the way for the speedy propagation of the kingdom of Christ. The military roads of Rome, ready to be traversed by the Apostles, led from the Forum to Spain and Gaul, to the Rhine and the Danube, to the Thebais in Egypt and the frontiers of Arabia. Roman influence reached almost to the boundaries of China. The sense of justice so admirably developed in Rome's private law facilitated the acceptance of Christian morality. The practical administrative genius of the Romans furnished valuable hints for the gov-

ernment of the young Church. The best pagan philosophers, a Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and others, though without the authority and the intention of teaching the common people and of reforming the world, had nevertheless spread ideas among the educated classes, which facilitated a transition to the Christian revelation. The perfect development and universal use of the two languages of the civilized world, Latin and Greek, afforded an efficient means for the propagation, explanation and defense of Christ's teaching. At the time of the Savior's coming universal peace reigned in the world.

10. The Birth of Christ. — JESUS CHRIST, the Godman, was born at Bethlehem of the Virgin Mary, during the reign of Emperor Octavianus Augustus, when Cyrinus was governor of Syria, most probably in the year 747 A. U. C. Through his mother he belonged to the family of David, to the tribe of Juda, to the nationality of the Hebrews. Owing to the time and place of his birth he was a subject of the Roman Empire which officially testified to his human nature, at his birth by the census rolls (to which Tertullian, born 160 A. D. refers as existing in his time), at his death by the inscription "Jesus Nazarenus" affixed to the cross by order of the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate. The shepherds of Bethlehem and the Magi from the East doing homage to the new-born Savior, represented the two great divisions of mankind, the Jews and the gentiles. Pursued by Herod the Great as a possible rival of his dynasty, Jesus spent a portion of his boyhood in Egypt, and after his return led a life of humble and laborious retirement at Nazareth up to his thirtieth year.

11. Christ's Public Life. — In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod (Antipas) being tetrarch of Galilee, John the Baptist, the forerunner of the Redeemer, began to preach and baptize on the banks of the Jordan. When Jesus was about thirty years of age, he was baptized by John and announced as "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world." After a forty days' fast in the desert Jesus entered upon his public life, the life of a teacher, benefactor, and worker of miracles, and the foundation of his Church. At the age of thirty-three he instituted the Holy Eucharist, was

betrayed by Judas, and condemned to death by the Jewish synedrium as a blasphemer for asserting his Godhead, and crucified under the authority of Pontius Pilate. Thus the Jews and the gentiles again co-operated in carrying out the divine decrees. During the forty days between his resurrection and ascension he completed the organization of his Church.

12 **Divine Constitution of the Church of Christ.**— a. The religious society or CHURCH which Jesus Christ founded on earth, was destined to embrace all nations and to lead mankind to heaven by the profession of the same faith and the use of the same sacraments. As supernatural in her end, as one and catholic or universal in her character, the Church received from her founder the prerogative of perfect freedom and independence in her proper sphere from all local authorities, national limits and political powers. No earthly society or ruler has or ever had the right to prevent the propagation, to threaten the existence or to interfere in the legitimate work and government of a Church directly founded by God. This government was based on the Apostles, for Christ instituted a teaching and governing body of men, the Apostles, with one of them as their head, St. Peter, and entrusted them with all the powers needed for their high office.

b. This College of the Apostles, in union with and subordination to Peter, and Peter in his own person as the head of the Apostles, received from Christ full jurisdiction over the whole Church, i. e., over all the faithful.

c. As the Church of Christ is to last to the end of time, her teaching and governing body and her visible head are to be continued by apostolic succession. Accordingly the full power of St. Peter resides in his lawful successor, who, as history proves beyond all doubt, is the Bishop of Rome, the Pope. The successors of the other Apostles are the bishops lawfully appointed and united with the Bishop of Rome. Every bishop (the Ordinary) has to govern in particular a certain part of the Church, his diocese. The decisive test whether any bishop belongs to the one Church founded by Christ, is the fact of his being united with Peter, that is to say with the See of Rome. This test holds good always and everywhere.

d. Either the Pope alone, or all the bishops united acting with the Pope as their head, teach and govern the whole Church in various ways, especially in Ecumenical Councils.

Thus history has not created the Supremacy of the Pope but found it established by Christ and has witnessed to the gradual external development of those powers, which Christ had granted to St. Peter.

As Jesus Christ, the God incarnate, is the center of all history, so the divine institution of the Primacy of the Holy See and the independence of the Catholic Church is the center of the history of the Christian Era. Most of the great historical contests since the coming

of Christ were waged around the Rock of St. Peter. It is impossible to understand and appreciate the course of human events in its proper meaning and character without giving full consideration and weight to these two central facts of history.

13. The Passing of the Old Order. — In the historical development of the Church, the Apostles "going forth preached everywhere, the Lord working withal and confirming the word by signs that followed." Obeying the command of Christ they explained the gospel first to the children of Israel. But instructed by a vision that the time had come to admit the gentiles into the Church, St. Peter went to Caesarea and baptized the Roman centurion Cornelius, his family and other pagans (36 A. D.). In Antioch too, where the disciples of Christ were first called Christians (42 A. D.), a great number of pagans were admitted by Barnabas and Paul, and later by Peter. To appease the scruples of the converts from Judaism, the first Council, of Jerusalem, held by the Apostles under the presidency of St. Peter, decreed not to impose the Mosaic law on the converts from paganism. St. Peter, after his temporary residence at Antioch, established the Primatial See in the city of Rome, where he governed the Church for a number of years, and at his death transmitted the Primacy to his successors, the bishops of Rome. He was crucified in the last year of Nero's reign, 67 A. D. Meanwhile St. Paul had undertaken his great missionary journeys through the provinces of Asia, Macedon and Greece, the chief Mediterranean islands, to Italy and Rome, and probably to Spain. He suffered martyrdom the same day with St. Peter, but, as a Roman citizen, was not subjected to the ignominy of the cross, but beheaded. On December 19th 69 A. D. in the midst of a civil war, a Roman hand fired the Capitol, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with the sanctuaries of Juno and Minerva were consumed by the flames. Eight months later a Roman soldier threw a firebrand into the temple of Jerusalem and reduced it to ashes. Thus passed away in less than a year the two greatest places of worship in the world, the religious centers of Judaism and Paganism. The Roman Empire, sinking lower and lower, was finally overrun and overthrown by barbarian invaders. On its ruins Teutonic tribes established a commonwealth of Catholic nations, founded Christendom. The Rome of

the Caesars, still the central city of the world's history, became the Rome of the Popes.

Books for Consultation. — *The Four Gospels.*— *The Acts of the Apostles.* — *The Epistles of St. Paul.* — Rt. Rev. R. Seton: *The Grandeur of Ancient Rome, a Preparation for the Gospel:* A. C. Q. 20, p. 55. — Rev. Reuben Parsons, D. D.: *The Roman Pontificate of St. Peter the Apostle.* Studies in Church Hist. I. 1. — J. W. Allies: *The Formation of Christendom,* v. II.; *The Throne of the Fisherman.* — Fouard-Griffith: *St. Peter.* — Bishop Lightfoot: *Apostolic Fathers.* — B. Jungmann: *Dissertationes selectae in Hist. ecclesiasticam; De Sede Romana St. Petri,* v. I, p. 7. Hettinger — Porter: *The Supremacy of the Apost. See in the Church:* Livius C. SS. R.: *St. Peter, Bishop of Rome.* — Brandes O. S. B. *St. Peter in Rome.* — J. Schmid; *Petrus in Rom.* — Also St. v. 2, p. 461; K. '87, 1, 135; H. P. B. '72, pp. 657, 735. — J. A. Birkhäuser. *Hist. of the Church from the first Establishment to our own Time.*— Rivington: *The Primitive Church and the See of St. Peter.* — S. F. Smith: M. '94, 2, p. 197. — J. M. Murphy; *The Chair of Peter.* — Allnath; *Was St. Peter Bishop of Rome* (C. T. S. P.).

§ 4.

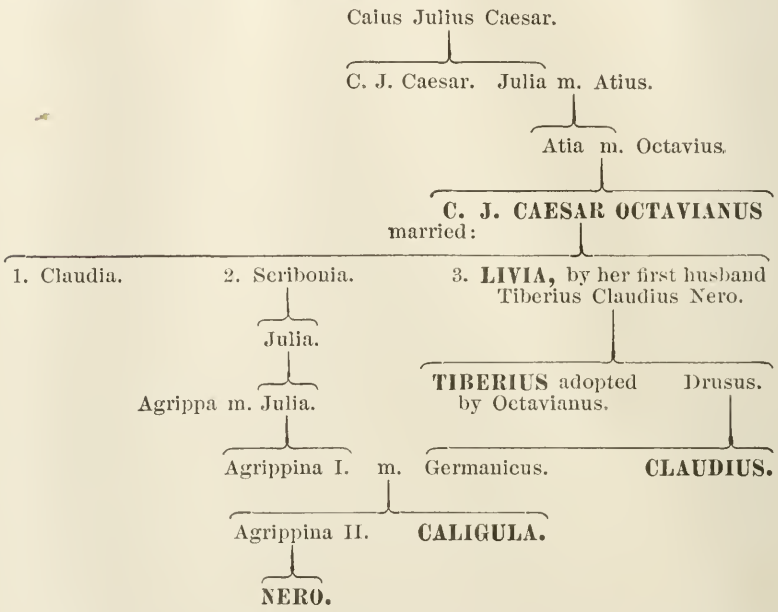
THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

14. **Civil Wars.** — The Roman Empire grew out of the civil wars in which ambitious leaders fought for supremacy. Roman armies for the first time acted as political agents for their respective chiefs, and Rome, repeatedly taken by opposing factions, became the scene of anarchy and proscriptions, wholesale murders and confiscations of political opponents. In the course of the civil wars Marius was overthrown by Sulla, Pompey expelled from Italy by Caesar, Caesar murdered by Brutus and Cassius, Brutus and Cassius defeated at Philippi by the triumvirate of Mark Anthony, Lepidus and Octavianus, the heirs of Caesar; Lepidus and finally Mark Anthony overthrown by Octavianus (Actium, 31 B. C.).

15. The First Emperor. — C. J. Caesar Octavianus, 31 B. C.–14 A. D., practically united all the powers of the great Roman offices in his own hand. As head of the entire army he was the Imperator, as censor he was enabled to expel opponents of the new order from the senate, as chief of the senate he exercised a decisive influence upon its decisions, as proconsul he ruled the provinces in which the military forces were stationed, leaving the peaceful provinces to the care of the senate. In its gratitude for this concession the senate conferred on him the *divine* title of Augustus which passed over to his successors. In addition to these powers he was tribune and consul for life, and sovereign pontiff. His family name Caesar was perpetuated in the later titles of Kaiser and Czar. After the battle of Actium his reign was a period of peace (except in Germany and

on the Danube), of commercial prosperity and literary brilliancy, represented by Livy, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, etc. The successors of Octavianus, belonging to the House of Livia, Julians by adoption, usually began well, but sooner or later disgraced their reigns by unnatural debauchery, brutal despotism, arbitrary exactions, executions and family murders.

16. **THE HOUSE OF CAESAR AND LIVIA.**



17. **The House of Livia.** — Tiberius, 14–37, succeeded Octavianus by adoption. To secure his supreme position, he murdered nearly all his relatives, abolished all republican forms, and united the praetorian cohorts in one fortified camp near Rome. The measure laid the foundation of the future power of the praetorians. Whilst the Emperor retired to the island of Capreae to indulge in the most shameful vices, his favorite, Sejanus, commander of the praetorian guards, filled the city of Rome with executions, ostensibly to please Tiberius, in reality, to pave the way to his own elevation by a reign of terror. Divining his intention Tiberius put him to death. Henceforth his suspicions and his cruelty knew no bounds. He finally met a well-merited fate and died by violence at the hands of his attendants. Caligula, 37–41, acted like a madman, squandered the well-filled treasury of Tiberius in less than

two years, replenished it by executing the richest tax-payers of Rome and the provinces, decimated the senate, and was finally murdered by the praetorian guards who raised the timid Claudius to the purple.

Hearing of plots against his life, Claudius, 41–54, ordered the execution of 35 senators and 300 Roman knights, killed his third wife, the terrible Messalina, and was in turn murdered by his fourth wife, Agrippina II, to make room for Nero. In Nero, 54–68, the tyranny of the House of Livia reached its climax. He murdered brother, mother and wife. He roused the fury of the Roman populace against the Christians by charging them with the burning of Rome, which (most probably) he himself had fired to rebuild it in grander style. His cruelty was almost surpassed by his vanity. He exhibited himself to the people of Italy and Greece as a chariot driver, actor and singer. His teacher, Seneca, his benefactor, Burrus, captain of the Praetorian guard, the poet Lucan, who had outdone him as poet, and the virtuous Thrasca, fell victims to his vindictiveness. In a rebellion which spread from Gaul and Spain to Rome, Nero on the point of capture, ended by suicide. The next four Emperors were proclaimed by the army. Three of them followed in quick succession: Galba, proclaimed by the Gallic legions; Otho by the praetorian guards, and Vitellius, by the legions on the Rhine (68–69).

18. The Flavian House, 69–96. — Flavius Vespasian, 69–79, was proclaimed Emperor by the powerful eastern forces under his command against a Jewish rebellion, which had broken out under Nero, 66. Leaving the siege of Jerusalem to his son Titus, he went to Alexandria to take possession of Egypt, and returned to Rome, where one of his generals had prepared everything for his arrival. Jerusalem fell in the year 70 A. D.; 1,000,000 Jews perished during the siege. The ploughshare was passed over the site of the deicide city of which only three towers and a few houses remained. With the destruction of the temple began the final dispersion of the Jews.

Vespasian, a man of plain manners and serious mind, reformed the most flagrant abuses, punished the most prominent evil-doers, and beautified the city by magnificent buildings (Capitol, Coliseum). He banished the Stoics and supported milder philosophic schools by state contributions.

The seventeen months of the rule of Titus, 79–81, "the delight of mankind," were marked by a destructive fire and pestilence in Rome, and by an eruption of Vesuvius which buried Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae. Domitian, 81–96, Titus' brother, turned out a second Nero. He was murdered by the freedmen of his palace.

19. **The Wars of the Period.** — The wars of the period were waged: (1) To secure the frontiers on the Danube and the Rhine against the Germans, and the eastern frontiers against the Parthians, the successors of the Persians. (2) To repress revolts among nations already subdued, as the great revolt of the Batavians and Gauls allied with German tribes, under Vespasian. (3) To quell insurrections of Roman legions, as the revolt on the Rhine quelled by Germanicus, and in Pannonia, quelled by the younger Drusus in the reign of Tiberius. (4) To extend the frontiers of the Empire, as the conquest of Britain begun under Claudius and completed under Domitian by Agricola, the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus.

The new provinces organized during the period were, in Europe: Germania Superior et Inferior (27 B. C.), Moesia (16 B. C.), Raetia with Vindelicia and Noricum in southern Germany (15 B. C.), Pannonia (10 B. C.), Britain (43 A. D.), Thrace (46). In Asia: Lycia (43), Judea (44). In Africa: Mauretania, Tingitana and Mauretania Caesariensis (42).

20. **The First Persecutions.** — The persecutions of the first century were not based on laws especially passed against the Christians. Claudius banished them from Rome because he confounded them with the Jews. Nero inaugurated the first great persecution, to divert the suspicion of having kindled the conflagration of 64 from himself to the Christians. They were handed over to the brutality of the incensed mob, or wrapped in skins of animals and worried to death by dogs or wild beasts in the arena, or drowned in the Tiber, or covered with pitch, nailed to crosses and set on fire to light up the imperial gardens. It was in this persecution SS. Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom. In the general persecution ordered by Domitian in the city and in the provinces, St. John, the Apostle, was plunged into a cauldron of boiling oil, but coming forth unhurt was banished to the island of Patmos, where he wrote the Apocalypse. Prominent among those who suffered for the faith, were Titus Flavius Clemens, a former senator and a relative of Domitian, and his wife Domitilla.

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§ 5.

THE SECOND CENTURY: THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT.

21. Character of the Period.—The period of comparative greatness and prosperity, which the Empire enjoyed for 84 years, extended through the reign of five Emperors, from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius, reached its height under Antoninus Pius, and was closed by Mark Aurel's son Commodus, another tyrant of Nero's type. Its foundations were laid by Vespasian, and it had a short revival under Alexander Severus. Its character was tranquillity at home, and vigor or vigilance on the frontiers. From the reign of Vespasian the Emperors made provisions for public education at the expense of the state, partly to imbue the rising generation with imperial ideas, partly to furnish means of support to a "salaried hierarchy of teachers" taken from the middle classes, whose employment in the forum and in the army was gone, since one man ruled the Empire and the legions were recruited from provincials and barbarians. Inspired rather by fear than genuine charity and under the influence of political motives, Nerva inaugurated the public care for the poor and orphans. Thus Nerva, Trajan and others founded schools for orphans and sent revenues to the Italian cities for the support of poor children. The example of the Christians may have had something to do with the new institutions. From the earliest times to the establishment of the deaconates, the faithful never separated on the Sunday till a collection had been made for the poor. Thereupon a vast system of public benevolence arose. The Popes divided the city of Rome into districts for the care of the poor, the widows and orphans. A special order, the deacons, were ordained to minister to the needy. Each deacon had to visit the district assigned to him, to register the names of the poor and to relieve them. When St. Lawrence, the deacon, was ordered to surrender the treasures of the Church, he presented to the Roman officials a multitude of maimed and miserable paupers as forming the treasures of the Roman Church. Rich Roman families changed their palaces into churches, chapels, schools, hospitals, and depots for the distribution of alms. Wealthy Christians on the eve of martyrdom often distributed their entire property among the poor. In times of persecution Christian

charity was administered in the catacombs, the burial places of the Christians, underground churches and chapels, connected by miles upon miles of galleries. Here the Popes and the clergy resided.

In the early history of Rome there was absolute liberty for private tuition, but no official teaching. Under the Empire official instruction was maintained, but the right of a father was still sustained to send his son to the free schools of mercenary grammarians, or to buy a professor of rhetoric in the slave market. Vespasian fixed the salaries of public professors at 100,000 sesterces (about $5,000), and founded and threw open the imperial schools of the Capitol to the youth of the whole Empire. Adrian built the Athenaeum. Alexander Severus founded burses for poor scholars of good family. Constantine and the Christian Emperors bestowed still greater favors on public educators, such as exemption from imperial and municipal taxation and from military service. The three principal subjects taught in the imperial schools were grammar, eloquence and law. These schools subsisted in Italy, Gaul, Spain and elsewhere, to the end of the seventh century long after the Western Empire had broken down.

The Emperors of this second age were great builders, both in Rome and in the provinces, not only from love of display and magnificence, but from a desire to furnish work and food to the lower classes who were no longer fed by the state. It was in this period that the earlier laws of Rome supplemented by later imperial edicts began to be collected and codified. The opposition of the pagan state to Christianity became more defined in the second century. The Christians were attacked as Christians by Emperors, officials, philosophers and men of letters. Without entirely losing its former character, the persecution passed from the stage of personal cruelty and popular frenzy to that of severe penal legislation. On the other hand many learned men (apologists) rose among the Christians, who undertook the defense of their religion, and presented memorials called "apologies" to provincial governors and Emperors. Quadratus, Athenagoras, St. Justin, members of the most brilliant school of philosophy, and the rhetoricians, Tertullian, Arnobius and Lactantius, shut up their schools and undertook the defense of Christianity.

22. Nerva and His Adopted Family. — NERVA, an aged ex-consul chosen by the senate, abolished as many abuses of Domitian's rule as the shortness of his reign permitted. He adopted the Spaniard Trajan, the best general of the time, as his colleague and successor.

Trajan, 98–117, the first provincial raised to the purple, restored many forms of ancient laws and institutions, allowed considerable influence to the senate and a show of liberty to popular assemblies, and encouraged education, learning (the Ulpian library) and commerce. Other reforms were the banishment of informers, the diminution of taxes, and the sale of numerous confiscated palaces for the public benefit. Many are the roads, bridges and harbors, which owed their origin to his enterprise. Rome received a new forum overshadowed by his column. But he was withal a military Emperor. In two campaigns he conquered Dacia, made it a province, and settled it with Roman colonists whose name and language still survive in the present Roumanians. In two other campaigns against the Parthians, he reduced Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria to Roman provinces, and carried his victorious arms as far as the Persian gulf. His exploits, however, were dazzling rather than lasting. Insurrections in his rear forced him to commence a retreat during which he died in Cilicia, surrounded by nations in revolt.

23. Hadrian, his adopted (?) successor, 117–138, abandoned the eastern war and restored the conquests of Trajan beyond the Euphrates. In fact, the Roman power never retained a firm hold on the countries beyond this river. Hadrian's reign was, on the whole, a period of internal and external peace, and of administrative and military reform. But he managed to rouse the Jews to a last desperate insurrection (132–35). He ordered a city, Aelia Capitolina, filled with pagan altars, and a temple of Jupiter to be built on the site of Jerusalem and the ancient temple; 600,000 Jews were slain in this insurrection and great numbers sold into slavery.

Of Spanish blood, Hadrian, like other foreign Emperors, was shy of the city of Rome. Two-thirds of his reign he traveled, usually on foot, through all the provinces of the Empire, embellished their capitals with magnificent buildings, and strengthened the frontiers with fortresses. Thus he began the Roman wall from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth against the Picts of Caledonia (Scotland). Rome owes him the Moles Hadriani, so renowned in the Middle Ages as the Castle of San Angelo, and the bridge in front of it which joins the two banks of the Tiber. Hadrian disgraced his memory by the immorality of his private life, and the cruelty with which, towards the end of his reign, he crushed real or imaginary plots in the blood of numerous senators.

24. Antoninus Pius and His Successors. — With Antoninus Pius, 138–161, adopted by Hadrian, came the peaceful reign of a fine and affable character, to whom the people accorded the surname of the "Father of mankind." No scandal touched the private life of Antoninus and his adopted son, MARCUS AURELIUS. For the Christians, his reign was, on the whole, an interval of peace and security. His successor, Marcus Aurelius, 161–180, combined the pursuits of a stoic philosopher with the career of an active soldier. For fourteen years (166–180) he was called upon to wage a desperate war against Teutonic tribes (the Quadi and Marcomanni) on the Danube, while his adopted brother and coregent, the dissipated Lucius Verus, was sent against the Parthians. Mark Aurel died at Vindobona (Vienna). His son COMMODUS (180–192) purchased peace from the Germans at the price of tribute, and abandoning the government to the praetorian prefect, gave full rein to his lust and cruelty until he was murdered by his intimates. With him ended the rule of the Antonines.

In spite of the greatness of this period, literature and art were on the decline, the population was diminishing, no great names break the monotony of contemporary records. The Emperor was everything, ruler, statesman, commander, philosopher; his assistants disappeared behind the glamour of his majesty. The people were torpid, rotten, an aimless mass vacillating between license and cruelty, and the outlook for the Roman Empire discouraging, if not hopeless.

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§ 6.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

25. Last Form of Roman Paganism. — (1) APOTHEOSIS. — Paganism reached its lowest depth in the Roman Empire, by the deification of the human monsters who ruled the world, and by the crawling servility with which senate and people raised temples and altars, and offered libations and sacrifices to them. The practice of deifying mortal man had come from the

kingdoms of Macedon and Egypt. Rome began the practice by deifying Caesar as a descendant of Venus. He was named Jupiter. His statue with the inscription "To the invincible God" was placed in the temple of Quirinus during his lifetime. After his death the worship of Caesar became a regular branch of the state religion. The first Emperors rather permitted than coveted divine honors. Augustus allowed the erection of temples and altars in his honor only in the provinces, not in Rome and Italy. His worship, however, became universal after his death. His birthday had equal rank with the festival of Mars. Caligula used to array himself in the fashion of Mercury, Apollo, Mars and Jupiter. He ordered his statue to be publicly adored on the Palatine, and even offered sacrifices to himself. "He ordered the choicest statues of the gods to be decapitated and the heads to be replaced by his own likeness. He caused a temple to be constructed to his own godhead, and instituted priests and victims for the worship to be offered to himself. Priestly positions were offered to the highest bidders, and were eagerly sought by the richest men in Rome." The passionate remonstrance of Herod Agrippa and the fear of political consequences alone induced him to withdraw his order of placing a gigantic statue of himself for adoration in the temple of Jerusalem. Claudius received the honors of divinity at his death. They were revoked for a time by Nero, but restored by Vespasian. Nero deified his wife Poppaea, for whom he had murdered Octavia, and sentenced Thrasea to death because he could not believe Poppaea to be a goddess. On the whole, about forty-three of these deifications or apotheoses took place in the long line of Emperors and their families, of which fifteen were those of females.

(2) Public Games. — The paganism of the people took its last stand in the arena and in the theater. In the circus the people found their temple, their forum and their country. Every post in the circus had its tutelary god, every movement of the race its pagan meaning. Especially the gladiatorial combats, borrowed from Etruria, became the master passion of the Roman people. The Republic had never witnessed the sufferings of more than 50 pairs of gladiators in one day, but 500 figured in the games given by Emperor Gordian. When the earth was loaded with the corpses of gladiators, a mimic Mercury struck the bodies with his staff, to assure the people of their death, whilst a mimic Pluto with his hammer dispatched those who still survived.— Christianity furnished a new use for the circus. In times of persecution Christian martyrs, strong men and venerable matrons, boys and maidens, single or in crowds, were led into the arena. The wild beasts of the desert let loose against them, sometimes crouched at their feet as if held back by an invisible hand, at other times produced a general carnage, which drew forth the frantic applause of 80,000 spectators surrounding the imperial seat. — The theater, the domain of Venus with her garland-crowned altar in the center of the stage, was another temple, but a temple of unspeakable depravity. No sham or illusion was allowed on the stage. Vice and cruelty were represented in their undisguised reality. Actors, whose parts demanded it, were really mutilated, burnt to death, or torn to pieces limb by

limb, whilst their cries were drowned by songs and dances. These amusements of blood and lust belonged to the deadliest foes which Christianity had to encounter, and even after Constantine's reign, defied the eloquence of the Fathers, the laws of the Church and the edicts of Emperors. It was not till 404, that Telemachus, an eastern monk, threw himself between the fighting gladiators and separated them; the infuriated spectators stoned the holy man to death on the spot, and the games went on. But the martyrdom of Telemachus decided the irresolute Honorius to put a final stop to bloody games.

26. **The Persecutions of the Century.** — Whilst Nerva rescinded previous edicts of persecution, a new reign of terror visited the Christians under Trajan. To the question of the younger Pliny, then acting as pro-praetor of Bithynia, how to treat the numerous Christians charged with "superstition," the Emperor answered, that the Christians ought not to be sought out; but if denounced by name, they must abjure faith in Christ or be prosecuted. This contradictory decision placed the Christians at the mercy of provincial governors and the Jewish and pagan populace. From the ninth year of his reign his maxim concerning the Christians was: either sacrifice or die. Three Popes suffered martyrdom under Trajan: Clement the Roman, Evarist and Alexander. St. Ignatius, the great bishop of Antioch, was torn to pieces by wild beasts in the Coliseum.

Under Hadrian, apart from individual cases (St. Symphorosa and her seven sons) the persecution was rather the work of popular hatred than imperial decrees. But Hadrian outraged the feelings of the Christians by erecting a statue of Jove near the holy Sepulchre, and an image of Venus on Golgatha.

Mark Aurel was a genuine persecutor despite his stoic philosophy. Not only did he give full rein to outbursts of popular violence, most violent in Asia Minor and at Lyons and Vienne in Gaul, but he ordered the Christians to be arraigned on charges of atheism (rejecting the national gods) and unnatural vices. His laws called for the severest tortures on the Christians in order to break their constancy. Among the most prominent of his victims were St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and the learned apologist, St. Justin. With the death of Marcus Aurelius came a spell of tranquillity for the Church of Christ (186–197).

27. **Causes of Roman Hatred against Christianity.** — (1) The very origin of the Christian religion perplexed the heathen mind. To a Roman citizen it seemed the height of absurdity to adore a man, sprung from a despised, rebellious and defeated nation, rejected by his own people, condemned by a Roman governor, executed by the most infamous form of capital punishment. (2) The condition of the Apostles, most of whom were poor, unlettered fishermen, repulsed the self-conceit and fastidiousness of the upper classes. (3) The

pride of reason, the force of habit, all the human passions were arrayed against a religion which demanded belief in incomprehensible mysteries and a life of humility and self-denial. The religion of the cross was "unto the Jews a stumbling block and unto the gentiles foolishness." (4) Whilst the Romans were sufficiently tolerant in adopting foreign divinities, they were shocked by the exclusiveness of the Christians who rejected all their gods and claimed to possess the only true religion. (5) The splendor of the heathen worship, its indecent feasts and historical traditions, its literature and science were all directly opposed to Christianity. (6) The union of religion and politics in the Roman Empire made Christianity appear as a direct danger to the state. (7) The new religion put in jeopardy the material interests of entire classes; such were the heathen priests, artists, especially sculptors and jewelers, artisans, traders, in fact all those who supported their lives by supplying the innumerable needs of pagan worship, public and private. (8) The Christians were slanderously charged with the grossest crimes, atheism, treason to the state, disgraceful banquets, adoration of the cross, of an ass, child murder. These charges, at times, received an apparent confirmation by the testimonies of their heathen slaves extorted on the rack, and by the corrupt practices of certain heretics which brought the Christian name itself into disrepute. (9) The great military Emperors regarded as mutinous soldiers the Christians who refused to swear by the genius of the Imperator and were punished for alleged insubordination. (10) When the great public calamities, pestilence, famine, the advance of the barbarians, began to harry the empire, the responsibility was placed on the Christians as revilers of the national gods. Every public calamity and every popular trouble was attributed to the Christians. "If the Tiber rises above its banks, if the Nile does not overflow, if the skies are not clear, if the earth quakes, if famine or pestilence come, up goes the cry, 'The Christians to the lions.'" (Tertullian.)

Christianity was assailed not only with material but also with spiritual weapons. It was done in two ways: directly, by literary attacks both satirical and serious upon the Christian religion, its founder, its apostles and its members. The most clever and the most bitter attack was made by the philosopher Celsus, in the second century, and refuted by the great Christian writer Origen. The literary warfare which indirectly aimed at discrediting the Christian faith was carried on by the Neo-Pythagoreans and the Neo-

Platonic school of Alexandria. The former (Philostratus, Porphyrius, Jamblichus) attempted to raise Pythagoras and the magician Apollonius of Tyana to a level with Christ by representing them as great religious reformers, ideals of human virtue and miracle-workers. The latter (Ammonius Sakkas, Plotinus and others) to reform and elevate paganism, purged it of its gross superstitions, explained the ancient mythologies as allegories hiding important truths, and adopted a number of Christian teachings. The mingling of different religious systems was called syncretism and was widely in vogue All these writers, however, found more than their equals in the Christian apologists, the philosopher Justin, Clement and Origen of Alexandria, the Africans Tertullian and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, Minucius Felix, etc.

If we finally consider that for three hundred years every convert to Christianity had to run the risk of public hatred and infamy, confiscation of property, tortures and death, and that an immense number of martyrs of every age, sex and condition, have triumphantly stood this test, it is clear that no array of merely human reasons, can explain the rapid spread of Christianity. Its wonderful propagation is a historical proof of its divinity.

28. Direct Causes of the Spread of Christianity. — Whilst paganism was thus running to madness and all the odds were against the new religion, Christianity spread, silently and steadily, throughout and beyond the Roman Empire. The causes of this rapid spread were: (1) The force of truth embodied in the religion of Christ proposed in so simple a garb, that it was equally intelligible to the learned and the unlearned. (2) The miracles wrought by the Apostles and their successors. (3) The authority of the Apostles as the eye-witnesses of Christ's resurrection. (4) Their appeals to the fulfillment of the Jewish and Sibylline prophecies, and the predictions of Christ. St. John was a living witness to the very end of the first century. (5) The virtuous lives of the Christians, especially their examples of charity and chastity in the midst of a selfish and corrupted society. (6) The apostolic zeal of the neophytes shared by all classes, including women and slaves. (7) The constancy of the martyrs and the frequent miracles connected with the tortures and death of the saints. (8) The power of Christianity to satisfy every religious craving of the soul attracted serious minds disgusted with the hollowness of paganism. Hence, not only poor

people and slaves, but the learned, the rich and the cultured embraced Christianity. Under these influences the Church in the first three centuries spread over Italy, Illyricum, Greece, Africa, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Roman Germany; to Pannonia and the regions of the Danube; through the Asiatic provinces and beyond them to Iberia or Georgia in the Caucasus, to Armenia, to Persia, whence missionaries departed for India, and into the interior of Africa to the Moors and Abyssinians.

Effects of the Spread of Christianity. — The new order brought (1) in place of idolatry, a clear, definite Creed of divine authority, commanding and finding external acceptance and internal faith.

(2) A code of morality embracing every human action and every sphere of human activity, culminating in the highest ideal of the evangelical counsels, the seed of innumerable religious communities.

(3) A regeneration of the political status of the human race by proclaiming the equality of all before God, an idea which implied the gradual abolition of slavery. The extinction of racial hatred and racial pride, and the abolition of irresponsible despotism in the government of commonwealths.

(4) The regeneration of family life, by pointing out its noble character and destiny, and by raising the dignity of motherhood, and the still higher dignity of virginity.

(5) The establishment of Christendom, the realization of one Christian family of nations by fixing the relative position of Church and State, and furnishing the strongest safeguard of civic liberty, culture and progress.

(6) The regeneration of art and science.

(7) The foundation of innumerable charitable and social institutions.

(8) The regeneration of the laboring classes by removing the degradation which slavery had stamped on labor, and associating the laborer with the highest ideals of Christianity, the Holy Family of Nazareth.

(9) The general diffusion of Christian hope and joyful certainty of the life to come, which dispelled the universal gloom, fear and despair of paganism in the presence of death.

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§ 7.

THIRD CENTURY — THE DECAY OF THE EMPIRE.

29. Character of the Third Century. — In the third century a new power rose in the East. The Parthian monarchy of the Arsacids (255 B. C.–226 A. D.) was overthrown in a revolt of the Persians, and on its ruins the New-Persian Empire of the Sassanids was founded by Ardeshir (Artaxares, corrupted into Artaxerxes), a descendant of Sassan (226–641). It comprised the provinces of Assyria, Media, Persia and Bactrianae with Madain, the double city of Seleucia and Ctesiphon on the banks of the Tigris, as capital. By this change, a Turanian enemy of Rome with a lower civilization was replaced by an Aryan power of higher civilization, which for centuries engaged the resources of the Empire. Rome in the present period had a greater fear of this eastern rival than of the advancing Teutons. The warfare on the other frontiers continued with unabated fury and ever-increasing success for the barbarians. The provinces beyond the Danube were lost. The Empire seemed on the point of dissolution. Military revolts in the provinces, civil war, general confusion and anarchy were the order of the day, until Diocletian, stripping the imperial office of its few limitations of power, converted the Empire into an absolute monarchy. From 192 to 284 twenty-five Emperors ruled with an average reign of less than four years. Nearly all of them were raised by the praetorians or the legions, and most of them were murdered. During the reign of Gallienus a number of pretenders, the so-called thirty tyrants, fought for the throne. By a decree of Caracalla all the free inhabitants of the Empire obtained the right of citizenship for the sake of the higher taxation which could be imposed on citizens. — With the general and irresistible growth of Christianity the persecutions waxed more virulent than ever. They always raged more fiercely under Emperors who were imbued with the Roman spirit, whilst adventurers, foreigners, Emperors living chiefly in the camp, left the Christians undisturbed.

30 **A Striking Contrast** — *Pertinax* was raised to the throne by the murderers of Commodus and slain by the praetorians, who put up the Empire at auction and knocked it down to Didius Julianus, the highest bidder. The legions imitated the game of the praetorians and set up three rival Emperors, of whom Septimius Severus, being nearest to Rome, was accepted

by the senate. Didius was slain as a public enemy. Septimius Severus, 193–211, devoted the intervals allowed him in his constant wars to reform administrative abuses and to amend the legal code (the jurists Papinianus, Paulus and Ulpianus). In the earlier years of his reign he was lenient toward the Christians. He had been cured of a painful disease by Proculus, a Christian slave. But in the year 202 he issued a severe edict of persecution "throughout all the churches of the world." It was carried out with special severity in Egypt, proconsular Africa, Italy and Gaul. He died in York, after invading the Scotch highlands and rebuilding the Roman wall. His son *Caracalla* (211–217) stabbed his brother Geta in the arms of their mother, put to death 20,000 of Geta's adherents, executed Papinian for refusing to defend a fratricide, ordered the massacre of the unarmed people of Alexandria to avenge himself for some epigrams, and was in his turn murdered by a centurion whom he had injured. His successor, Macrinus, general in the Parthian war, was first elected and then slain by the army, because he insisted upon discipline (217). The mutineers proclaimed as Emperor Elagabalus, a young priest of the Syrian sun-god Heliogabalus. This madman was possessed by idolatry as by a demon. He demanded adoration for his person, dressed like a woman, bathed in rose water, organized a senate for women, and horrified even the licentious soldiery of the Empire by his oriental luxury. Accordingly they slew him and raised his young cousin Alexander to the throne.

Severus Alexander, 222–235. His reign forms a striking contrast to those of his predecessors. He was well educated, strict in morals, a successful general in his war against New Persia, and a great administrator, guided by the wise counsels of Ulpianus and Paulus. "Do unto others, as thou wouldst have them do unto thee," was the motto inscribed on the front of his palace. The Empire enjoyed many years of internal peace under his rule, and the Christians rest and security under his benevolent protection. His household was filled with Christians. His mother, Julia Mammaea, was instructed by Origen; the Emperor himself kept — it is said — among pagan divinities an image of Christ in his oratory; neither he nor his mother embraced Christianity. His strictness in keeping order among the soldiers caused several mutinies. In one of them Ulpianus was slain; Alexander himself was murdered in Gaul by seditious soldiers.

31. Eight Emperors in Sixteen Years.

Maximinus, 235–238. A Thracian herdsman of Herculean size and strength. A tyrant and persecutor, murdered by his own soldiers.

Gordianus I., 237, died by his own hand.

His son and coregent *Gordianus II.*, 237. Slain in Mauritania.
Maximus Pupienus, } elected Augusti by the senate, murdered by the prae-
Balbinus, 238. } torians.
Gordianus III., 238–244, murdered by Philippus Arabs.
Philippus Arabs, 244–249, defeated and slain by Decius.

Decius, 249–51. This arch-persecutor was thoroughly Roman in his policy. His persecution was one of the fiercest and most general. The officers of state, under threat of severe punishment, had to devote all their time, energy and ingenuity to inventing new tortures for the extirpation of Christianity which Decius considered as the greatest danger to the state. The persecution lasted till Decius was slain in Thrace by the Goths. A permanent effect was the foundation of monastic life. Many Christians who, during the persecution, had retired to the Egyptian deserts, found a means of sanctification in their solitude. They were joined by others in times of peace and, living in solitary cells, exhibited as anchorites or hermits the first form of monastic life.

32. A Temporary Revival. — Gallus, 251–253, murdered by Aemilianus, 253; Aemilianus murdered by the soldiers.

Valerianus, 253–260, was as weak against the invading nations — Teutons and Persians — as he was fierce against the unarmed Christians. When he was taken prisoner by the Persian king Sapor, his son Gallienus, 260–268, left him to his fate and seized the throne. Gallienus was opposed by the so-called thirty tyrants (in reality nineteen). The constant invasions along the whole frontier under these weak Emperors greatly increased the power of the provincial governors; the Empire was in danger of breaking up into a number of independent states. This danger was averted by a succession of vigorous Emperors.

Claudius II, 268–270, Aurelian, 270–75, and Probus, 276–82, quelled rebellion within the borders of the Empire and re-established its boundaries by successful campaigns.

With Carus, who assumed his sons, Carinus and Numerianus, as coregents (282–284), the period of military control came to an end. Diocletian, proclaimed by the army returning from Persia, defeated his rivals, and made the imperial power absolute.

33. Diocletian, 285–305. — To increase the prestige of the imperial dignity, to do away with military nominations, to prevent the breaking up of the Empire, and to facilitate the defense of the

frontiers, Diocletian abolished every restriction of the imperial office, suppressed the influence of the senate and the praetorian guards, made all provinces imperial provinces, introduced oriental magnificence at his court, and, whilst remaining supreme head of the state, made the following division of power: —

East.	West.
Augusti.	
Diocletian.	Maximianus Hercules,
Asiatic countries,	Italy, Africa, Islands,
Residence at Nicomedia.	Resid. at Milan.
Caesars.	
Galerius,	Constantius Chlorus,
Thrace and Illyria,	Gaul, Spain and Britain,
Resid. at Sirmium.	Resid. at Trier (Augusta Trevirorum).

Instigated by Galerius, Diocletian in 302 or 303 inaugurated the fiercest of all persecutions and shed streams of Christian blood in order to enforce unity of pagan sentiment throughout the vast dominions of the Empire. All the coregents save Constantius, who without being a Christian believed in one God, vied with him in his cruelty, and continued the persecution beyond the time of Diocletian's voluntary and Maximian's unwilling abdication in 305. Diocletian's sweeping persecution only made the final triumph of Christianity the more apparent.

34. The Successors of Diocletian. — The system introduced by Diocletian worked well in the external relations of the Empire. The frontiers were effectively defended, and large inroads made into the Persian Empire. But it failed in establishing a regular succession and preventing civil wars. In the earlier years of his reign rivals maintained themselves in Egypt and Britain. When Diocletian in 305 prevailed on Maximinian to resign, the two Caesars were raised to Augusti and the tetrarchy was continued.

East.	West.
Augusti:	
Galerius.	Constantius Chlorus.
Caesars:	
Maximinus Daza.	Valerius Severus.

Upon the death of Constantius at York, his son CONSTANTINE declared himself Caesar. Thereupon Galerius raised Valerius to the dignity of Augustus. New complications arose, when the city of Rome, resenting its

loss of influence, proclaimed a new Augustus in the person of Maxentius, the son of Maximianus, who also reassumed the Augustan dignity which he had abdicated. Thus, then, the situation in 306, was:—

Augusti:

Galerius. Valerius Severus.

Usurping Augusti:

Maxentius. Maximianus.

Caesars:

Maximinus Daza. Constantine.

Valerius Severus was the first to fall, in Ravenna, at the hands of the Roman usurpers. In his place Galerius appointed Licinius Augustus of the West, without, however, being able to put him in possession of Italy. Thereupon Constantine and Maximinus Daza too, assumed the title of Augustus. Maximianus, banished by his own son, was put to death at Constantine's order, against whom he had hatched a plot, 310. Galerius died in 311, in consequence of his debauchery. Struck by remorse at the memory of his cruelty, he issued an edict of toleration from his deathbed in which he asked the Christians to pray *to their God* for the Emperors and the Empire. Thus in 312 Licinus and Maximinus Daza ruled in the East, Constantine and Maxentius in the West.

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§ 8.

THE TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY.

35. The Family of Constantinus.

Constantius Chlorus, d. 306.

CONSTANTINUS THE GREAT, d. 337.	Constantia married to LICINIUS.	Constantius.	Annibalianus.
Crispus. CONSTANTINUS II., d. 340.	CONSTANTIUS, d. 361, CONSTANS, d. 350.	Gallus. JULIAN THE APOSTATE, d. 363.	Dalmatius, Annibalianus, both murdered with the consent of Emperor Constantius.

36. The Battle at the Milvian Bridge, 312. — Although brought up a pagan, Constantine had early imbibed sentiments favorable to Christianity from his pious mother, St. Helena, and from his father, Constantius Chlorus, who, without embracing the faith, worshiped one God and favored Christianity. While at Diocletian's court in Nicomedia he had learned to admire the fortitude of the Christians. He was convinced on the one hand that Christianity was too firmly rooted in the Empire to be extirpated, and on the other hand, that its spiritual forces alone could revive the sinking Empire. In this state of mind he undertook his war against the tyrant Maxentius. After two victories in northern Italy he marched upon Rome. One day, whilst invoking the God of the Christians for aid in his enterprise, he and the whole army beheld in the skies above the midday sun a resplendent figure of the cross with the Greek inscription, "En touto nika! In this conquer!" The following night Christ appeared to Constantine, ordered him to adopt the cross as his standard (labarum), and promised him victory. The victory was won over Maxentius at the Milvian bridge which spans the Tiber. Maxentius was drowned in its waves. From this day Constantine, as catechumen, became the staunch protector and friend of the Christians. Together with Licinius he issued the toleration edict of Milan, 313, which guaranteed liberty of worship, full freedom to embrace Christianity, and the restitution of all confiscated church property.

The miraculous vision of Constantine is attested: (a) By the historian Eusebius, "the Father of Church History," and other contemporary writers. Eusebius published his detailed account when many eye-witnesses were still living. (b) By Constantine's triumphal arch, on which he ordered the labarum to be engraved with the inscription: By this salutary sign and symbol of true strength have I delivered your city from the yoke of the tyrant. (c) By the still existing coins and medals struck by Constantine in commemoration of the vision. (d) By Constantine's own statement made under oath to Eusebius.

37. New Wars. — In a war in the East between Licinius and Maximinus, the latter was defeated and ended his life by suicide, 313. The next war broke out between the remaining two rivals. Constantine's victory at Hadrianople reduced the European possessions of Licinius to Thrace and part of Moesia. During the nine years of peace which followed, Licinius displayed more and more hostility against the Christians of the East, openly

repudiating the edict of Milan. The result was a religious war between Paganism and Christianity. In the camp of Constantine bishops prayed for victory. In the camp of Licinius Egyptian soothsayers and pagan priests predicted a victory of the Roman gods. On the day of the decisive battle Licinius boasted: "This day will I make it plain whether we or the Christians are in error, and decide which is the true Divinity — our gods or their crucified God." Constantine's victory at Chalcedon put an end to Licinius' rule, 324. The fallen Emperor was put to death in his prison.

38. The Empire Reorganized. — Constantine was now sole Emperor, 323–337. His first act was to abandon Rome. He transferred the imperial residence to Byzantium, "Nova Roma," named after him CONSTANTINOPLE, a magnificent city, adorned with Christian temples and Roman art treasures, and commanding the passage of two oceans and two continents. The effect of this transfer was, on the one hand, that the Papacy was left in peace, and free to develop its powerful resources, on the other hand, that the Byzantine Emperors became estranged from the Occident, imbued with oriental despotism, and drawn into the party strifes of the eastern heretics. The city was henceforth the capital of the whole Empire, when the Empire was united, and of the eastern portion, when it was divided. The Empire was divided into four Prefectures, these were subdivided into 13 Dioceses, and these into 116 Provinces. No provincial governor could any longer aspire to the purple.

(1) *The Prefecture of the Orient:* Thrace, Asia Minor, Cappadocia and Pontus, Syria and Egypt.

(2) *The Prefecture of Eastern Illyricum:* Macedonia and Greece, Dacia and Eastern Illyricum.

(3) *The Prefecture of Italy:* Rome and Italy, with Raetia and the Islands; Western Illyricum with Noricum and Pannonia, Africa.

(4) *The Prefecture of Gaul:* Gaul, Britain, Spain, with western Mauritania.

The most important measure was the separation of the civil administration from the military, which exercised a salutary influence on the Provinces. The praetorian prefects had no military power whatever. The commanders of the provincial forces depended on two chiefs living at the court, the magister peditum and magister equitum (master of the foot and of the horse). The single legions were reduced from 6,000 to 1,500 men. The main army

whose duty it was to defend the frontiers, was chiefly composed of Germans, and the time was rapidly approaching when from being defenders they became the assailants of the Empire. A remnant of the free institutions of former days still existed in the representative government of the municipalities.

The laws of Constantine, especially as supplemented by Valentinian and Theodosius, introduced three salutary innovations: (a) They did away with the secret formulas in use by the earlier lawyers, formulas which made the law a mystery to the people. (b) They separated the spiritual from the temporal order. (c) They repaired to a large extent the injustice done to women, children and slaves under the pagan dispensation. Constantine decreed the civil emancipation of women, and increased the legal rights of mothers, forbade exposing infants, punished child murder with the same penalties as parricide, abolished the crucifixion of slaves, and condemned to death the master who killed or caused the killing of a slave.

Whilst the new institutions abolished old abuses, they brought new ones in their train. An army of officials had to be created. Venality and corruption were an inheritance of the whole imperial period. The court and the administrative machinery swallowed enormous sums, which were obtained by overtaxation. The heaviest burdens fell on the poor; the rich found means to evade the tax collector or revenue farmer. Unable to pay the taxes, impoverished freeholders saw themselves compelled to surrender their little farms to large land owners. Thus a new estate was created, higher than slavery, but lower than the free peasantry, that of the Coloni, who were fixed to the soil and worked for the owners. Thus Constantine's reorganization was only a temporary pause in the downward course of the Empire.

39. Legal Establishment of Christianity. — What redounds most to the credit of Constantine is his legislation concerning Christianity. All his efforts, laws and institutions tended towards the establishment of the Christian faith and the gradual destruction of paganism. He abolished the restrictions under which the Christians had lived heretofore. He changed the entire system of jurisprudence by the infusion of Christian principles. He richly endowed bishops, priests and churches, and provided for the splendor of divine worship. He appointed Christians to the most influential offices. He closed those pagan temples which served for purposes of immorality or impostures. If his legislation still tolerated pagan features the reason was that he *could not* peaceably abolish

them, because paganism was still too strong, and forcibly he *would not*, because he was averse to persecution. Christianity could now spread in every direction. It crossed the boundaries of the Empire and struck root among the Persians, Armenians, Aethiopians, and Goths. In connection with his legislation the Metropolitan system of church government, *i. e.*, the union of several dioceses under an Archbishop or Metropolitan, and of all under the supreme authority of the Pope, was now developed. In many cases the capital of the province became also the Metropolitan see of the Archbishop. The transfer of the imperial residence to Constantinople saved the Pope on emerging from the catacombs from innumerable difficulties which would otherwise have hampered his free administration. To preserve the unity of faith and discipline and to suppress or condemn heretics, Synods or Councils were held throughout the Empire. It was in Constantine's reign, that Arianism, so-called from the Alexandrian priest Arius, raised its head. Denying the divinity of the second person, it was one of the most radical heresies that ever ravaged the Church of Christ. The promoters of Arianism did all in their power to win over the Emperor. But Constantine requested the Supreme Pontiff to convoke the General Council of Nice, and the Council under the presidency of three papal legates condemned the heresy. Constantine, a catechumen since the time of his vision, was baptized in Nicomedia, towards the end of his life, and died in the orthodox faith.

These three facts — the establishment of Christianity as the dominant religion of the Empire, the foundation of Constantinople and the reorganization of the Empire, have fully earned for Constantine the title of *the Great*. But for a long time he failed to be benefited himself by the benefits which he bestowed on others. The postponement of baptism to the end of his life, the killing of his noble son Crispus, owing to the plots of his second wife Fausta, and her own execution, his vanity and voluptuousness, his encroachments upon the rights of the Church, in his later years, at the instigation of the Arians, by whom he was often deceived, are serious blots on the life of an energetic far-seeing, and, in other regards, excellent ruler. The more brilliant was the example of all Christian virtues given by his mother, St. Helena. She replaced the abominations which Hadrian had erected at the holy places by Christian temples, and left a treasure to the Church by the discovery of the True Cross of Christ. Christian art, practiced already in the catacombs and fostered by St. Helen, produced the basilicas of Constantine and Theo-

dosius, the bas-reliefs on the tombs of Martyrs and Saints at Rome, Ravenna and Arles, and the mosaics which formed a characteristic feature of earlier Christian architecture.

40. **The Family of Constantine.** — Constantine I. was succeeded by his three sons, Constantius in the East, Constantine II. in the Gallic, and Constans in the Italian Prefecture. In consequence of a war between the two brothers, the Prefectures of Gaul and Italy were now united under Constans, 340. Ten years later, Constans was overthrown by the Gallic usurper Magnentius, and Magnentius himself in 353 defeated at Mursa by Constantius, who thus became sole ruler of the Empire, 353–361. A fanatical Arian himself he abused his power by promoting Arianism in the whole Empire and persecuting the orthodox clergy and people. The brilliant campaign of his cousin Julian, whom he had sent into Gaul as Caesar, against the Alamanni and Franks, roused his suspicions. He ordered Julian to send part of his legions to the East. Thereupon the troops in Gaul proclaimed Julian Augustus at Paris. The death of Constantius during a Persian expedition prevented a war between the two cousins.

41. Julian the Apostate, 361–363. — Julian, baptized and brought up a Christian, had secretly apostatized in his early youth and in the schools of Athens imbibed the refined paganism of the neo-platonic system. When he became sole ruler of the Empire, he openly avowed his apostasy and began to undermine Christianity by a method of persecution entirely his own. As high priest he offered solemn sacrifices to the ancient gods and invited the Christians to do the same. As author he composed satires against Christianity. As legislator he shut out the "Galileans," as he contemptuously called the Christians, from the court, the higher offices in the state and the army, the bench and the bar, and from the right of teaching or studying in the higher schools. As ruler he spared, indeed, the lives of the Christians in his words and edicts, but allowed his pagan prefects and subjects to torture and murder them with impunity. In order to render void the prophecy of Christ, he undertook to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. Jews flocked to their ancient city from every part of the Empire, offering their treasures and aiding the work. But earthquakes and flames bursting forth from the ground, destroyed work and workmen, and compelled the Emperor to abandon the enterprise. In 363 Julian undertook an expedition against the Persians. Mortally wounded by an arrow, he fell, exclaiming: "Galilean, thou hast conquered."

42. Julian's Successors. — The army at once proclaimed the brave general Jovianus Emperor, 363–64. Objection was raised to his Christianity, but the majority of the troops exclaimed, "We are Christians too." The new Emperor restored the Church to her position under Constantine. After his sudden death in Galatia, the troops proclaimed the absent Valentinian successor. He was an uncultured but just and brave Pannonian officer. Reserving for himself the three western Prefectures, with Milan as his residence, the Catholic Valentinian appointed his Arian brother Valens ruler of the East, and his son Gratianus co-regent for the West. Under Valentinian heathenism began to disappear from the cities, and the word *paganus* (countryman) came to mean pagan or heathen. Valens granted liberty of worship to Arians, Jews and pagans, but cruelly persecuted the Catholics.

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§ 9.

POLITY AND RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS.

We have now to turn our attention to the great Teutonic race, which in the reign of Valentinian and Valens began the conquest of the Roman Empire.

43. Social Distinctions. — The chief social distinctions among the ancient Germans, according to Tacitus, were represented by: —

a. Nobles (nobiles), who derived their descent from the gods, from ancient kings, or from great benefactors or military leaders of the race.

b. Simple freemen (ingenui). Every freeman, as member of the community, had a fixed share of cultivated land and pasturage held

in common, and a house and homestead of his own, apportioned to him according to his social position. Homestead, arable land and pasturage formed the family land, (the hube of the Germans, the hide of the Anglo-Saxons).

c. Freedmen (liberti, liti, lassen), were renters, not owners of land; they were not admitted to the assembly, but were bound to military service, and could be received into the retinue of princes.

d. Serfs. They were either tillers or slaves. The tillers (coloni) had their own house and home, but tilled the soil for the lord whose land they could not leave. Otherwise they were personally free. The slaves (servi) were prisoners of war, or persons who had lost their liberty by gambling, etc.

44. Constitution. — Each tribe had a distinctive constitution. Some had kings, others were held together by the state or national council and by the ties of kindred and tribal relationship. In both systems the central power was wielded by the national assembly held at fixed times, usually at the new or the full moon. Both systems recognized magistrates (principes), leaders in war (duces, dukes, heretogs), and priests.

The magistrates were chosen in the national assemblies to exercise jurisdiction in the gaus or larger divisions (pagus), or in the village (vicus, mark). They received provision of corn and cattle made by the state, and had the right of maintaining a following (comitatus) of companions in arms, bound by the strictest obligation of fealty to defend the chieftain of their own choice. In war the prince fought for victory, his followers for the prince. Their occupations in peace were hunting and feasting.

45. Dukes. — The dux or duke was the champion commonly chosen from among the principes for his prowess. He led the infantry, while the principes commanded the cavalry. The duke was, like the king, chosen by being lifted on the shield. In war the principes were subject to the duke, after the war the office and power of the duke ended. Each pagus had to send a hundred armed freedmen, who fought in families or affinities.

46. The King. — In tribes that had a king, the king was attended by a kindred nobility and a personal comitatus. German

kingship was hereditary in the family, the king was chosen by the people from a distinct family. He shared the command in war with the dukes, took a leading part in councils, received a portion of the fines imposed in courts of justice, but could not appoint the judges. In case of auguries he could exercise sacerdotal powers. He was the patron of the freedmen and serfs. He represented the unity of the tribe.

47. Assemblies and Courts. — In the general assemblies opposition to a speaker was expressed by loud shouts, assent by the shaking of spears, enthusiastic applause by the clash of spears and shields. War and peace, alliances or elections, were frequently discussed at convivial meetings connected with the assemblies. The general assembly also acted as a high court of justice, heard complaints, and issued capital sentences. The local courts were held by the chosen magistrates, who in villages were assisted by twelve, in the gaus by a hundred assessors. Treason and desertion were punished by hanging, cowards or abandoned persons were drowned or smothered, other offenses, even murder, were expiated by money or cattle fines (wergild) divided between the king or state and the injured person and his kinship.

48. Priests. — The priests presided at the sacrifices, took the auspices for public undertakings, proclaimed and enforced silence in the assemblies, maintained discipline in the army, gave the signal for the onset, and had the power to punish, that is to bind or beat; and in the name of the god of war discharged the offices of judges and executioners in the army.

49. Religion. — The eldest gods of German heathendom were Tuisco, the earth-born, and Man, the origin and founders of the German race.

Wuotan (Old Norse, Odinn; Anglo-Saxon, Woden) was the supreme god of all the northern races, the ancestor of kings, the giver of victory and the god of warlike valor. His day was Wednesday. He presides in Walhalla, the Teutonic heaven, where the warriors divide their time between hunting, fighting and carousing.

Donar (O. N., Thorr, A. S. Thunor), the thundering god, the

strongest son of Wuotan and his mother Earth. He uses his hammer against the giants and other elemental powers. He rules the storms as well as the fertilizing rains; Thursday is named after him.

Ziu (O. N., Tyr; A. S., Tiw), the god of battle and victory, of wounds and death, fighting in the throng of human combats. Captives of war were sacrificed in his honor. Tuesday is sacred to him.

Fro (O. N., Freyr; A. S., Frea), the god of peace, love and marriage, the charioteer of the sun, the fertilizer of the soil and the protector of cattle. In the times of epidemics need-fires were burnt to him.

Paltar (O. N., Baldr; A. S., Baldeag), mild, wise and just, the god of law and right, light and grace, manly beauty and excellence. His son, Forazio, (the presiding), was the god of justice.

Minor gods were Saetere, the Disposer, (Saturday); Aki, the god of the sea; Wal, the god of the chase; Soko, the destroyer and evil genius, the devil of the ancient Germans, and other fiends and monsters.

The chief goddesses were Frieca, the wife of Wuotan, (Friday); Nirdu, the Earth; Holda, the goddess of domestic happiness; Hellia or Hel, the goddess of the lower world.

There are, however, traces that the original belief in one God was not entirely lost, and the name of God, pronounced without article, signifying a being all-present and all-powerful, is found in all the Teutonic dialects. But, from a feeling of awe, the name was rarely pronounced.

The Germans offered to their gods prayers and sacrifices, chiefly of animals, but also human sacrifices, captives of war, criminals, in extraordinary emergencies even kings and royal princes. The priests had charge of the sacred forests and groves, the temples and images of the gods; they accompanied the latter in their progress through the country. The auspices were taken from the neighing of the white and sacred horses, and the entrails of animals. Priestesses were chiefly occupied with divination or soothsaying.

50. Character. — The Teutonic nations were prominent in warlike valor, loyalty to kin, tribe and chieftain, and purity of family

life; but in times of peace they were given to gambling, drinking and idleness.

Kemble: *Saxons.* — Stubbs: *Constitutional History of England*, vol. I, ch. 1–3. — Tacitus: *Germania*, Translated by Church and Brodribb. — R. G. Latham: *The Germany of Tacitus; Nationalities of Europe.* — Sir H. Maine: *Lectures on Village Communities.* — L. Erhardt: *Aelteste germanische Staatenbildung.* — G. Waitz: *Verfassung d. deutschen Volkes in aeltester Zeit.* (*Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. I.)—G. Kaufmann: *Die Germanen der Urzeit.* G. L. von Maurer: *Marken- Dorf- Hof- und Staedteverfassung.* — J. B. von Weiss: *Die Germanen* (*Weltgeschichte*, v. III, pp. 73–98).

§ 10.

CONTACT OF TEUTONIC NATIONS WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE BEFORE THE MIGRATION OF NATIONS.

51. Cimbri and Teutones. — A number of German (and Celtic?) tribes collectively known as the Cimbri and Teutones overran for nearly 20 years the Celtic country north of the Alps, Gaul, and Upper Italy, defeated several Roman armies, but were finally overthrown and hopelessly scattered by C. Marius, 120–101 B. C.

52. Suevi. — Suevi and other Germanic tribes under Ariovistus invaded Gaul in large numbers, but were defeated by Julius Caesar and forced back across the Rhine. The Gauls called the Teutonic tribes "Germans," and from them the Romans learned the name. 58–53 B. C.

53. A War of Liberation. — Augustus began to attack the Germans in their own seats. Repeatedly Roman armies under Drusus and Tiberius, the step-sons of Augustus, advanced across the Rhine into northern Germany as far as the Weser and the Elbe.

Tiberius established the Roman power over a part of the Teutonic tribes on the right bank of the Rhine. In the meanwhile Marbod, king of the Suevic tribe of the Marcomanni (Markmen) had organized a powerful confederacy in Bohemia, which defied the power of the Roman Empire. His example fired the Germans of the North to throw off the Roman yoke. A young Cheruscan nobleman, Arminius (Hermann) formed a confederacy, and defeated in a three days' battle in the Teutoburg forest three legions of Quinctilius Varus; 20,000 Romans were slain. Varus fell upon his own sword. The Rhine was restored as boundary line. 12 B. C. — 9 A. D.

Germanicus, the son of Drusus, renewed the invasions, but effected little beyond occasional devastations of German territories (14–16 A. D.). The Roman possessions beyond the Rhine and the Danube were mere outposts for the better security of the land within the rivers. The land fenced in by the rampart of Domitian, strengthened by the wall of Probus which joined the Rhine at Deutz with the Danube at Kehlheim (limes, Pfahlgraben), was hardly more than such an outlying post on a great scale. From the time the Romans had reached the Danube and the Rhine, the warfare of Rome became defensive.

54. Changes among the Germans. — During the long period of peace which followed the war of liberation, important changes took place in the interior of Germany. The Germans passed from their half-nomadic and pastoral state to the more settled life of agriculture. German adventurers, sometimes whole tribes, took service in the Roman army; prominent warriors were promoted to high places; the Romans entered into commercial relations with purely Teutonic races; smaller tribes coalesced into larger communities; the old names, mentioned by Caesar and Tacitus, disappeared; new names of powerful confederations took their place. Thus the Goths, who had come from Scandinavia to the Danube and the northern shore of the Black Sea, the *Saxons* in the North, Burgundians, Alamanni and Franks on the Rhine, began to press with great persistency against the frontiers.

55. Wars on the Danube. — In the middle of the third century, Goths, Gepidae, Herulians and other tribes harassed the northeastern frontiers of the Empire, and overran Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, and portions of Asia Minor. Two Emperors, Decius and Claudius II. lost their lives in these campaigns; Decius was slain, and Claudius died of pestilence caused by the bodies lying unburied on the battlefield. Aurelian gained a victory over the Goths, but abandoned Dacia to them on their promise not to trouble Moesia, 244–270. Henceforth the Goths, for nearly a century, kept peace with the Romans.

56. Wars in the West. — About the same time, Franks ravaged Gaul and Spain, Suevi and Alamanni crossed into Italy; the

Alamanni, in a fresh Italian invasion, were defeated by Aurelian (270), the Franks and the Burgundians by Probus, 256–277.

57. Wars with the Germans on the Danube and the Rhine. — Almost the whole family of Constantine the Great were engaged in the defensive war against Teutonic nations. Constantius Chlorus, the father of the first Christian Emperor, defeated the Alamanni; Constantine the Great fought and checked the Goths in two wars, and defeated the Vandals; Julian, while still Caesar, defeated the Alamanni and Ripuarian Franks, and assigned to the Salian Franks lands in northern Gaul. It was during the reign of Valentinian, that the above-mentioned Teutonic nations pressed with ever-increasing force against the whole extent of the northern frontiers of the Empire; it was in the year of his death, 375, that the irruption of the Huns set the whole seething mass of barbarians in motion, and that the boundaries of the Empire so long defended began to be taken, and to be occupied by Germanic races.

Merivale: *Romans* (from ch. 36). — T. Mommsen: *Hist. of Rome* (Book 8); *Die Oertlichkeit der Varusschlacht.* — T. Smith: *Arminius.* — Sir E. Creasy: *Fifteen Decisive Battles.* — Watson: *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.* — J. B. von Weiss: *Weltgeschichte* (3d Ed.) *Das Kaiserthum*, v. II., pp. 860–880; v. III., 1–564. — Julius Jung: *Roemer und Germanen in den Donauländern.*

BOOK I.

THE MIGRATION OF NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST TEUTONIC INVASIONS AND SETTLEMENTS — 375–527.

§ 1.

INVASION OF THE HUNS AND GOTHS — THEODOSIUS THE GREAT.

58. The Huns. — The Huns were Turanians of the Turkish family driven from China or Tartary a few centuries previously. Fleet and indefatigable horsemen, low in stature, wild in features and appearance, and ruthless in conduct, they carried terror and devastation wherever they went. In 375 they crossed the Volga.

59. Ostrogoths and Visigoths. — The two chief divisions of the Goths were Ostrogoths and Visigoths, eastern and western Goths. The Ostrogoths had formed a kingdom on the Baltic, and had worked their way down to the mouths of the Danube. Their chief was Hermanric, the first king of the family of the Amals. East of the Ostrogoths dwelt the Alans, a mixed race, west, on the northern bank of the Danube, the Visigoths. The Goths were the first of the Teutonic nations who in large numbers accepted Christianity from Roman captives, slaves, merchants, soldiers and missionaries. A body of Goths separated from the rest of the nation, lived in the Crimea, and professed the Catholic faith. One of their bishops (Theophilus) had been present at the Council of Nice. The rest of the Christian Goths were Arians. A bishop of their own race, Ulfilas, gave them a

Gothic alphabet, a written language, and a translation of a great portion of the Bible, and thus became the first founder of a Teutonic literature. It was for this reason that so many Teutonic tribes first received Christianity in the form of Arianism. Just then Athanaric, king of the Visigoths, was engaged in a fierce persecution of the Christian Goths.

60. First Attacks. — The Huns overpowered the Alans, made them vassals and followers and with their aid overcame the Ostrogoths in two hard-fought battles. Hermanric, it is said, despaired of his nation, and ended his life by suicide.

The Ostrogoths were allowed to have their own chiefs but subject to the Huns. The three nations next marched against the Visigoths, 376.

61. Battle of Hadrianople. — The Visigoths, thus threatened by a powerful alliance, divided. Part of them fled into the Carpathian Mountains; the rest asked and obtained permission from Valens to cross the Danube into Moesia; 200,000 under the Christian king Fridigern crossed the river. The treacherous and outrageous treatment which they had to suffer at the hands of the imperial generals induced them to summon their former enemies to their aid. Reinforced by bands of Ostrogoths, Alans and Huns, they overran and devastated Thrace. Valens hastened thither from Asia, and met them in the battle of Hadrianople 378. He was completely defeated, hardly a third of his army escaped. The wounded Emperor, it is said, perished in a hut to which the barbarians set fire. His tragic end created a powerful reaction among the people against Arianism.

62. Theodosius the Great and Pacification of the Goths.— Gratian summoned Theodosius from Spain, and proclaimed him Augustus, 379. Theodosius was an earnest catechumen of the Catholic Church, and received baptism soon after his accession. He gradually brought the Goths to terms of peace by avoiding pitched battles, fortifying threatened cities, repressing the lawless, and granting settlements to others. The voluntary submission of Athanaric, who

crossed the Danube in 381, greatly aided him in this work of pacification. The Visigoths, as foederati or allies, were allowed to live under their own chiefs and laws in Moesia, Thrace, Dacia, free of taxes, but had to recognize the Roman supremacy, and to furnish an army of 40,000 auxiliaries. Theodosius proved his far-seeing statesmanship in enlisting all that was noble and most Teutonic in the former invaders, while he dealt severely with the marauders. His German auxiliaries did him good service in the civil wars that followed.

63. First Civil War. — The Spaniard Maximus, commander in Britain, was proclaimed Emperor by the legions, and crossed over to Gaul. Gratian was betrayed by his army and slain, 383. Thus Maximus ruled Gaul, Spain and Britain, Valentinian II. Italy and Africa, Theodosius the East. When Maximus, in 387, crossed the Alps, Valentinian fled with his mother to Theodosius, who espoused their cause. Theodosius at once marched to Aquileia, stormed the city, and reinstated Valentinian, 388. Maximus was slain by the soldiers of Theodosius.

64. The Last Struggle of Paganism — The laws which ordered the closing of the heathen temples and forbade pagan sacrifices, promulgated by the Emperors Constans (341) and Constantius (353), remained, on the whole, a dead letter. They lost all legal force in the days of Julian the Apostate. Christian worship and Roman idolatry existed side by side. It was under Gratian that the *state* worship of the Roman gods received its severest check. His decrees abolished the privileges of the heathen priesthood, and assigned the temple properties to other public uses. The statue of Victoria was finally removed from the Senate hall. All sacrifices at public expense had to cease. The Emperors henceforth dropped the meaningless title of Pontifex Maximus. These and similar measures led to a religious war in which the representatives of paganism tried for the last time to crush Christianity by force of arms. Valentinian II, the coregent of Theodosius the Great in the west, was assassinated by the heathen Arbogast, the Frankish general of his army. Arbogast raised Eugenius, a former rhetorician, to the imperial dignity. Eugenius had been baptized, but the strong pagan party won over the ambitious man to their side. The soul of the movement was the fanatical Flavianus Nicomachus, prefect of Italy, Illyricum and northern Africa. In vain the great St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, excluded Eugenius from the Christian worship, and pleaded with the people to abstain from any useless attempt at reviving the worn out pagan system. Eugenius and Arbogast, at the head of a strong army, and accompanied by Flavianus as officiating priest, marched towards Aquileia, to meet Theodosius, who was approaching with a small army of eastern troops reinforced by his

Gothic allies. Eugenius had assured St. Ambrose, that after defeating the Emperor he would turn the Christian basilicas of Milan into stables.

65. The Battle on the Frigidus, 394. — The van guard of Theodosius' forces occupied without difficulty the mountain defiles of the Julian Alps, and laughingly gathered in the costly statues of Jove, which Flavianus had set up to protect these passes. The decisive battle was fought on September 5th, 394, on the river Frigidus near Aquileia. After a night spent in prayer, Theodosius won a complete victory over the usurper. Eugenius was captured in battle and executed. Arbogast fell on his own sword. Flavianus had perished in an earlier engagement. The cause of Christianity triumphed. Theodosius crowned his victory by pardoning both the humbled leaders and soldiers. By the fall of Eugenius Theodosius became the last ruler of the united Roman world (394–95).

66. Death of Theodosius. — Whilst Theodosius gave the death blow to official paganism, he also efficiently checked Arianism among the Roman and Greek population by a decree which made agreement with the See of St. Peter the test of orthodox faith. Arianism, henceforth, was confined to the Teutonic nations. Theodosius the Great, the last Emperor of the ancient and undivided Empire, had maintained its old honor in arms, administration and legislation. He died at Milan, 395, with the blessing of St. Ambrose, bequeathing the West to Honorius under the chief administration of the Vandal Stilicho, a man of great talents, the East to Arcadius under that of Rufinus.

Books for Consultation. — Jornandes or Jordanes: *Hist. concerning Gothic Affairs* (contemporary; *Hist. de rebus Gothicis*). — H. Bradley: *The Goths* (St. of N. S.) — Thom. Hodgkin: *Italy and her Invaders*, 8 vols. (Standard Work in English on the Migration of Nations). — *Early History of the Goths*, vol. I, Introduction, ch. 3. — Hodgkin: *Dynasty of Theodosius.* — *The Goths under Valens and Theodosius:* Hodgkin: *Invaders*, vol. I, book I, ch. 1-2. — *Honorius, Stilicho, Alaric:* Hodgkin, I, 1, ch. 4. — *Ulfilas:* E. R., 77 Q., p. 361. — P. Allard: *Le Christianisme et L'Empire Romain de Neron à Theodose.* — Le Duc de Broglie: *St. Ambroise* (Les Saints). — A. Bannard: *Hist. de St. Ambroise.* — R. Thornton: *St. Ambrose.* — A. Guldenpenning — Ilfand: *Geschichte Theodosius des Grossen.*

§ 2.

THE FIRST INVASIONS OF ITALY, GAUL, AND SPAIN.

67. Alaric. — The parsimony of Rufinus, who violated the terms of confederation granted by Theodosius, estranged the

Visigoths from the Empire. They lifted Alaric, of the illustrious family of the Balts, on the shield as their king. He at once set out from Moesia into Greece, and harried the Peloponnesus. Meanwhile Stilicho, arriving with a fleet from the West, had effected a landing at Corinth, and surrounded the Visigoths in Arcadia. Alaric, however, managed to escape and to make his peace with the court of Constantinople. Rufinus' successor, Eutropius, the worthless favorite of the weak Arcadius, invested Alaric as Prefect or Duke of Eastern Illyricum, whence he could descend at will on the Eastern or Western Empire.

68. Alaric's First Invasion of Italy. — Alaric chose the latter. With the whole nation, warriors, families, flocks, and treasures, he crossed the Julian Alps, and defeated a Roman army under the walls of Aquileia, invaded northern Italy, and nearly surprised Honorius at Milan. Honorius hastily shut himself up in Ravenna, 402. The following year Stilicho weakened Alaric in the drawn battle at Pollentia and defeated him at Verona. Alaric returned to Illyricum, and was recognized by Honorius as Prefect or Duke of Western Illyricum, 403.

69. Ratger's Invasion of Italy. — Soon after Alaric's first Invasion of Italy, an immense army of Teutonic clans, set in motion by the pressure of the Huns in their rear, Alans who had escaped their masters, Vandals from Pannonia, Sueves from what is now Moravia, Bohemia and Bavaria, and Burgundians from Middle Germany made for the Alps and occupied the passes. A detached army of 200,000 men under Ratger (Radagaisus), a heathen Goth, entered Italy. Again Stilicho saved Rome by forcing the invaders into the Apennines near Florence, where most of them perished by the sword or by famine. Ratger was captured and executed, 406.

70. Great Invasion of Gaul and Spain. — The remnants of the defeated army joined their comrades in the passes of the Alps. On New Year's night all crossed the Rhine, which was frozen over, 406–7, and overran Gaul with fire, sword and devastation. The Burgundians established themselves in eastern Gaul, the Suevians, Vandals and Alans harried the country for two years and then entered Spain. At the same time the Franks too left their Batavian homes

and took firm possession of northern Gaul, but stopped further invasions by keeping the Alamanni, who lived on the Rhine north of the Alps, and the Saxons of northern Germany, out of the rich provinces of Gaul, 407–409.

71. Kingdom of the Burgundians, 407–534. — The Burgundians, partly heathen, partly Arians, formed a kingdom under Gundicar, with Geneva, later with Lyons as capital, the first of the many Burgundies that came into existence in the Middle Ages.

The missionary zeal of Gallic bishops converted a number of Arians to the Catholic faith. On the other hand, many heathen Burgundians, owing to their intercourse with the Visigoths who had meanwhile occupied southern Gaul, adopted the Arianism of their neighbors. King Gundobald, the Burgundian lawgiver (474?–516), though an Arian, was favorable to the Catholics. It was, however, under his son, St. Sigismund, that the Burgundian nation as such accepted the Catholic religion.

Clovis, the founder of the Frankish kingdom in Gaul, rendered the Burgundian kingdom tributary, and his sons conquered it in 534. The Frankish kings respected, however, the national laws and customs of the Burgundians for the next 300 years (No. 115).

72. Kingdom of the Suevians, 409–585. — The Suevians, the Vandals, and the Alans divided Spain; the Suevians and the Astingian Vandals (so-called from the line of their kings) occupying the North-West, the Alans the West, and the Silingian Vandals the South, while only the Tarraconian province in the East remained Roman under Constantine, a usurping Emperor. Soon, however, both the old and new inhabitants had to defend their possessions against the Visigoths, by whom the Alans and the Silingian Vandals were subdued or exterminated. The Astings departed in 428 to Africa. Thus the Suevians under Hermaneric, remained in possession of northwestern Spain, and subsequently extended their kingdom towards the South. But the Visigoths arrested its growth and reduced it to subjection in 585 (see No. 76).

Church: *The Beginning of the Middle Ages.* — *Invasion of Radagaisus:* Hodgkin: I., book 1, ch. 5. — *Invasion of Gaul, Ibid.*, p. 304. — *First Invasion of Alaric and Stilicho's Fall:* Hodgkin: I, 1, ch. 5-6. — Freeman: *Hist. Geography; On Burgundians.* — Grisar, S. J.: *Gesch. Roms.* — Sheppard: *The Fall of Rome*, Lect. 8. — P. Godwin: *Ancient Gaul.* — A. Guldenpenning: *Geschichte des ostroemischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II.* — E. A. Freeman: *The Tyrants of Britain, Gaul and Spain*, 406-411, E. H. R., v. 1, p. 35.

§ 3.

THE VISIGOTHS IN ITALY, GAUL, AND SPAIN. THE KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS, 416–711.

73. Alaric's Second Invasion of Italy, 408–10. — In the meanwhile Stilicho, more than once the savior of Rome, had fallen a victim to court-malice, as it seems: he was murdered at Ravenna; the chief members of his family were put to death, and the wives and children of the German soldiers in the Roman army massacred by the Roman legionaries. The Germans fled to Alaric, who at once with his whole nation crossed the Julian Alps into Italy, and marched to the siege of Rome, which for more than 600 years had seen no enemy before its walls, and for 800 years none within. Alaric spared the city for an enormous ransom; 40,000 slaves escaped from Rome, and joined his army and his winter quarters in Etruria, 408. The refusal of Honorius to assign lands in northern Italy for a permanent settlement of the Goths, led to the second siege of Rome, 409.

Alaric raised the siege when the Romans, at his request, proclaimed their prefect Attalus Emperor in opposition to Honorius. But Attalus soon made himself unpopular with Romans and Visigoths, and was unceremoniously deposed by Alaric. In the third year at last, 410, Rome was stormed and sacked after a short siege. Alaric, however, dealt mercifully with the inhabitants; all sacred persons, places and things, the public buildings, and the people who sought asylum in any church, enjoyed his special protection; only those who offered armed resistance were put to the sword. Then the trumpets sounded a truce; the inhabitants issuing from their hiding-places were assured of their security, and the sacred vessels which had been hidden in private houses, were carried in solemn procession to St. Peter's by victors and vanquished.

From Rome Alaric marched to southern Italy, carrying with him many Roman hostages, among whom Galla Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius, held the highest rank. Before he was able to carry out his design of crossing over to Sicily and thence to Africa, Alaric, at the age of 34, died at Cosenza, near Rhegium, and was buried amidst the loud wailings of his nation in the river bed of the Busento.

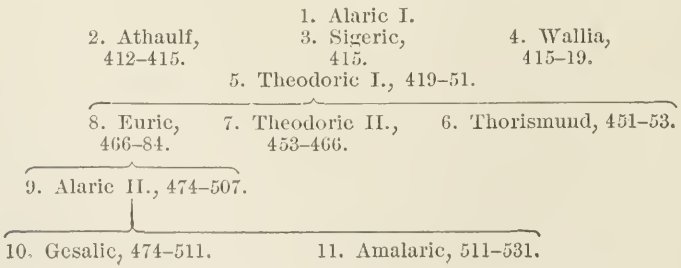
The Visigoths lifted Athaulf, the brother of Alaric's wife, upon the shield.

When Alaric entered Rome he found the Colossus of the Sun still rearing its height by the Flavian amphitheatre. The sacred fowls were still fed on the Capitol and their auspices demanded. The calendar noted the pagan festivals side by side with those of Christ and his Saints, and for 50 years more the Theodósian law closing the heathen temples and forbidding the sacrifices had to be constantly renewed. On the other hand, when Alaric in 408 demanded 6,000 pounds of gold and 30,000 of silver, the patricians did not scruple to take the gold from the pagan temples and to melt down the statues of the gods.

74. Athaulf's Invasion of Gaul and Spain. — With the consent of Honorius, the new king led the Visigoths into Gaul, defeated the petty rival emperors whom the confusion in Gaul and the indolence of Honorius had brought to the surface, took many cities of southern Gaul, and celebrated his marriage with Galla Placidia at Narbonne, 412–414. He then crossed the Pyrenees and conquered Barcelona. He was slain in a private quarrel by one of his grooms. The Visigoths elected his half-brother Wallia, 415.

75. Foundation of the Visigothic Kingdom by Wallia. — Having restored Galla Placidia to the court of Ravenna, Wallia entered Spain, forced back the Suevians towards the northwestern regions, subdued the Alans, and exterminated the Silingian Vandals. Thus Wallia became the founder of the Visigothic kingdom. He held the greater part of Spain by conquest, and Aquitania or southern Gaul, henceforth also called Gothia or Septimania, by a grant of Honorius. The royal residence he established at Toulouse. (Regnum Tolosanum.)

The House of Alaric I.: —



Euric, the brother, murderer and successor of Theodoric II., drove the Romans from Spain, conquered a part of the Suevic kingdom, extended the boundaries of Gothia from the Loire to the Straits of Gibraltar, compiled the first code of Visigothic laws and customs, and inaugurated a period of bitter persecution of the Catholics. After Amalaric, the last of the Balts, the Visigothic kingdom became elective, 531. Of the elective kings the first three were murdered by the Visigoths after a short reign. Athanagild (554–67) called the East Romans, who had conquered Africa and Italy, to his assistance, and won the Visigothic crown by force of arms. The Greeks maintained their position in southern Spain for 65 years.

76. Leovigild and St. Hermenegild. — Leovigild ruled Spain with his brother Liuva, the successor of Athanagild, and became sole ruler of the Visigoth kingdom, 573–586. He was one of the most energetic of the Gothic kings, and waged many successful wars. From his first Catholic wife Theodosia, a noble Roman lady, he had two sons, Hermenegild and Reccared, who had imbibed a love for the Catholic faith from their pious mother. Hermenegild was married to Ingunda, a Frankish princess, also a Catholic. At Leovigild's court she was cruelly persecuted by Athanagild's widow, a fanatical Arian, whom Leovigild had taken for his second wife. To restore peace in his family, the king sent Hermenegild as governor to Sevilla. Induced by the entreaties of his wife and the appeals of St. Leander, bishop of Sevilla, Hermenegild made solemn profession of the Catholic faith. At once the Catholics of Spain, Romans, Greeks, Suevians, proclaimed him their champion, and forced him into opposition against his father. Even the heathen Basques rose against Leovigild. Enraged by this movement Leovigild began a war of extermination against the Catholic Church, especially the bishops. The outbreak of a great insurrection was prevented by the promptness with which Leovigild threw down the Basques, besieged and captured Sevilla, and made his son a prisoner. He offered him restoration to his dignities if he would return to Arianism. But St. Hermenegild "preferred the kingdom of heaven to earthly royalty and life;" he refused to receive communion from the hands of an Arian bishop, and was slain in prison for his faith by order of his father. He suffered martyrdom in the Easter night of 585. In the same year Leovigild destroyed the kingdom of the Suevians, because they had taken up the cause of Hermenegild. Later Leovigild

repented of the execution of his son and allowed Reccared to practice the faith, which he had so cruelly punished in his elder son.

77. Reccared, 586–601; Conversion of the Visigoths. — Leovigild was the last Arian king in Spain. His successor, Reccared, solemnly abandoned Arianism before an assembly of Catholic and Arian bishops and the Visigothic nobility, and persuaded his former co-religionists to follow his example. St. Gregory the Great received the whole nation into the Catholic Church. Reccared holds the first rank among the Visigoth kings. He ruled the provinces conquered by his father with justice and wisdom, and was universally loved by the people for his affability and beneficence. He enlarged the influence of the clergy, to check the turbulence of his nobles. The ecclesiastical councils became at the same time the diets or general assemblies of the nation, in which the military chiefs voted on secular measures. The Church exerted her influence for a fusion of the two races, the Germanic and Hispano-Roman. St. Leander, who received the pallium from Gregory the Great, and his younger brother, St. Isidore, Archbishops of Sevilla, were the trusted advisers of Reccared and his successors.

Sisibut (612–21), a worthy successor of Reccared, conquered most of the possessions of the Byzantines in Spain and made preparations for their final expulsion, accomplished by his successor, Swintila (621–31). Sisibut built a Gothic fleet for the protection of the maritime trade, and zealously promoted religion, science, arts and commerce. In the beginning of his reign he took rigorous measures against the Jews, who were given the option of baptism or expulsion, measures frequently renewed by later kings. St. Isidore fearlessly defended the persecuted nation. But it cannot be denied, that the Jews in Spain even at this early period as in later times, acted a treacherous part against the Spanish Catholics.

78. Prosperity of the Kingdom. — The period from Reccared to the end of the seventh century was one of the most flourishing epochs of Spanish history. The state now favored instead of opposing Roman culture. The laws prohibiting marriage between Visigoths and Romans were dropped. Synods were regularly held at Toledo and elsewhere. These councils moulded the civil and public legislation, and made the kings responsible to the nation for the conduct of their government, and even liable to deposition in the

case of flagrant misrule. Numerous and eminent writers, equally famous for learning and holiness, adorned the Spanish episcopate. The Church was free, closely united with the Holy See, rich in monastic institutions, and exerted a truly civilizing influence on the converted Visigoths. Spaniards and Visigoths, united in one faith, became one people. Both the State and the Church gained by mutual co-operation. Though Spain had its turbulent nobles, its contests between royalty and aristocracy, its occasional outbreaks, yet neither the aristocracy succeeded in supplanting the royal power, nor the kings in making their dynasty hereditary. ' There was still much that was barbarous, but the great influence of the Church on legislation, and the co-operation of king, clergy and nobility in the Council-diets made the Visigoth kingdom the most powerful, the most flourishing and the most advanced of the new Teutonic kingdoms. (Destruction, see Nos. 175–177.)

The Three Sieges of Rome: Hodgkin, I., 1, ch. 7. — *Invasion of Gaul by the Visigoths:* Hodgkin, I,, 1, ch. 8. — *Galla Placidia Augusta:* Hodgkin, I., 1, ch. 8-9. — Aschbach: *Geschichte der Westgothen.* — P. B. Gams, O. S. B.: *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien,* vol. II., 1 (305-589), p. 480; II., 2 (305-712), pp. 1-238. — T. Hodgkin: *Visigothic Spain:* E. H. R., vol. 2, p. 209. — Dunham: *History of Spain.* — Watts: *Hist. of Spain.* — G. A. Condé: *Hist. of the Arabs in Spain.* — Gregorovius-Hamilton: *Hist. of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* — E. A. Freeman: *The Tyrants of Britain, Gaul and Spain,* 406–411; E. H. R., v. I., p. 53.

§ 4.

THE HUNS UNDER ATTILA, 435–453.

79. Military Empire of Attila. — Having subdued the Ostrogoths, Gepids and other tribes, the Huns roamed as nomads through what is now Germany, Austria Hungary, Poland, and southern Russia. They were led by a number of chieftains, until Attila united all the Huns and their tributaries of Teutonic and Slavonic races into one vast military empire. He shared his sovereignty with his brother Bleda, 435–44, and after the latter's demise or murder reigned as sole king of the Huns till 454. His residence, a wooden palace or rather town, was somewhere on the Middle Danube, probably on the site now occupied by Buda. Attila was not only a redoubtable conqueror, but an organizer of more than ordinary force and shrewdness.

80. Theodosius II. — Attila's raids among the Barbarians, carried, it is said, as far north as Scandinavia, were followed by attacks on the Eastern Empire. As long as Theodosius II. was guided by the wise counsels of his minister, Anthimius, and as long as, after Anthimius' death, St. Pulcheria, the Emperor's sister, exercised a decisive influence, the reign of Theodosius was not without creditable results at home and abroad. For the aid sent to the West, to suppress the usurpation of Joannes, Pannonia was transferred to the East. In the Persian war Theodosius obtained part of Armenia. But in the last years of his reign, when he excluded the influence of his sister from the council of state, the Huns took advantage of the Emperor's weakness.

Attila won three victories over the forces of Theodosius, and by repeated embassies to the court of Constantinople, exacted the cession of a part of Thrace and large and ever-increasing sums of tribute.

81. Attila's Invasion of Gaul. — St. Pulcheria succeeded her brother in 450. She gave her hand, charged henceforth with the burden of empire, to Marcian, an aged soldier, from whom she obtained a promise of sisterly respect. The eastern Roman world enjoyed some years of greatness and glory under Pulcheria and Marcian. When Attila demanded the accustomed tribute for the Western Empire from the eastern court, he received as the answer of the Empress: "I have gold only for my friends, but iron for my enemies." This challenge by the eastern court induced the Hun to seek his booty in the West. He set out for Gaul with a vast medley of nations, Huns, Goths, Gepids, Alans, swelling his army by constant accessions on his march along the Danube and across the Rhine to the number of 700,000 men, leaving everywhere a desert of smoking cities and ravaged countries in his wake. Visigoths, Burgundians, Alans, Franks, Saxons mustered with the Romans under the standard of Aëtius, who had been for a time Attila's guest (see Nos. 84 and 85). Having devastated Belgic Gaul, Attila marched against Orleans. He was turned away from the half-conquered city by the arrival of Aëtius and Theodoric I., king of the Visigoths, and retreated towards the Rhine, closely followed by the allied nations. Near Chalons-sur-Marne, on the Catalaunian Fields the terrible Battle of Nations was fought from noon to night, one of the most important battles in the history of the

world, for it saved Christianity and Aryan civilization from being destroyed by Turanian heathenism and barbarity; 160,000 men remained on the battlefield, the greatest of them Theodoric I. Attila owned his defeat by withdrawing from the field during the night, and soon after returned to Pannonia, 451.

82. Leo I. and Attila. — The defeat on the Catalaunian Fields did not diminish Attila's hope of becoming master of the West. In 452 he crossed the Julian Alps, and appeared before Aquileia. Carried by assault the city was given to pillage and destruction, and Pavia and Milan soon shared its fate. The fleeing inhabitants of Venetia, overrun by Attila's hordes, founded the fishing villages, out of which rose the great city and republic of Venice. It was at Mantua on the Mincio, that Attila's victorious march was arrested not by a Roman army but by a Roman Pontiff. Pope St. Leo I., the Great, came from Rome to meet the destroyer, "the Scourge of God," at Mantua. Attila was overawed by the appearance and words of Leo, and returned to Pannonia where he died, in 453 or 54, whilst organizing a new expedition against Constantinople.

83. **Dissolution of the Hunnish Alliance.** — The fifty sons of Attila fell to quarrelling about the division of the spoils. This opportunity was seized by the Ostrogoths and Gepids. In a great battle on the plains of Pannonia the Huns were defeated by their former allies, driven to the Black Sea, and lost their importance for Europe. The Gepids founded a kingdom in Dacia, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia and Thrace, south of the Danube. North of the Danube now stood the Herulians and Rugians, and northeast of them the Longobards, who had worked their way down from Scandinavia.

Attila: Hodgkin, II. 2, ch. 4. — Card. Newman: "*Historical Sketches: The Turks: Attila and the Huns.* — Sir E. Creasy: *Fifteen Decisive Battles.* — Thierry: Hist. d'Attila et de ses Successeurs. — *Etzel of the Nibelungen Lied:* G. D. Dippold: *Great Epics of Mediaeval Germany.* — Emerton: *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (375–814). — The Republic of Venice, its Rise, Decline and Fall; Q. R. '74, p. 4, 416.—Pallman: *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung.*

§ 5.

THE KINGDOM OF THE VANDALS IN AFRICA, 439–534.

84. Boniface calls the Vandals from Spain. — We have now to return to the affairs of the Western Roman Empire after the death of Honorius in 423. The short usurpation of Joannes, chief

of the Notaries at Ravenna, after the death of Honorius, was put down with the aid of Theodosius II., who had succeeded Arcadius in the East. Henceforth Valentinian III. (425–55), the son of Galla Placidia and of her second husband Constantius, bore the title of Emperor, while Placidia Augusta wielded the imperial power. The two most powerful men in her service were Boniface, the governor of Africa, the friend of St. Augustine, and Aëtius, commander in Gaul. Aëtius, an intriguing rival of Boniface, persuaded the latter, that the imperial court at Ravenna was planning his disgrace and death. Thus incited to rebellion in self-defense, Boniface invited Genseric, king of the Astingian Vandals, to Africa and sent him eighty ships. Genseric, at the same time sorely pressed by the Visigoths, left Spain in 428 at the head of some 80,000 men, sailed to the Balearic islands, and landed the following year in Africa.

85. Africa Conquered by the Vandals. — Too late Placidia and Boniface found out the deception practiced on them. Aëtius fled to the Huns in disgrace, and Boniface, reinstated by Placidia, tried to make a stand against the Vandals, but was compeletely defeated on the frontiers of Mauritania. The death of St. Augustine, the greatest of the Western Fathers, during the siege of Hippo Regius (430), and the fall of Carthage, 439, mark the destruction of Roman civilization in Africa. The whole province became a Vandal kingdom under the Arian Genseric, the most crafty and cruel of the barbarian kings and a ruthless persecutor of Catholic Christianity. Rome and Italy lost their richest granary. Genseric appropriated all the large estates of the great African landholders for his own use, raised a royal revenue from part of the poorer estates by pitiless taxation, and left the rest to his soldiers as military fiefs (sortes Vandalorum). The Catholic churches were either handed over to the Arians or destroyed. The supporters of the orthodox faith, clergy or lay, were imprisoned, banished, sold as slaves or put to death. Genseric built a powerful navy, conquered Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, and exercised undisputed sway over the Mediterranean, "the Vandal Sea."

86. The Vandals Invited to Rome by Eudoxia. — Valentinian III. was murdered, probably by Petronius Maximus whom he

had wronged. At any rate Petronius Maximus treated the murderers as his friends, and forced Eudoxia, Valentinian's widow, to marry him. Eudoxia in her grief and resentment called the Vandals to Rome. On the arrival of Genseric, the people stoned Petronius Maximus to death.

87. Second Sack of Rome. — St. Leo I. met Genseric outside the walls of Rome, and saved the citizens and captives from slaughter and torture, but could not prevent the unsparing pillage and havoc wrought in the city by the Vandal hordes. Genseric carried with him Eudoxia, her children, 60,000 captives, and the richest trophies and art-treasures of Rome, 455. Two powerful armadas, fitted out by Anthimius, Emperor in the West, and Leo I., Emperor in the East, to avenge the sack of Rome and to crush the power of the Vandals in Africa, were destroyed, off Carthage, by the fire ships of Genseric, 457.

88. House of Genseric. — The Vandal Kings: —

1. **GENSERIC,** at Carthage (439–77).

2. **HUNERIC,** 477–84. m. Eudoxia the younger,

Genzo.

5. **HILDERIC,** 523–31 (put to death, 532).

3. **GUNTHAMUND,** 484–96.

4. **THRASAMUND,** 496–522.

Gelaris.

6. **GELIMER,** 531–34.

89. **General Causes of the Decline of the Kingdom.** — (a) Genseric, by leveling to the ground the Roman fortifications in Africa, left the open cities without protection. (b) The warm climate, the effeminate life and the Roman vices assumed by the barbarians enfeebled the nation. (c) Frequent inroads of the neighboring Moors since the reign of Huneric weakened the frontiers. (d) The Catholics, owing to the cruel persecutions which they suffered at the hands of the Vandal kings (except Gunthamund), were ready to receive any deliverer with joy and gratitude. Huneric, a tyrant of the worst type, had especially devoted all his energies to the extirpation of the Catholic faith. His Catholic wife Eudoxia, after sixteen years of a most unhappy life with the tyrant, succeeded in escaping to Jerusalem where she spent the rest of her life in pious retirement.

90. Proximate Causes of the Fall of the Kingdom. — Hilderic, the last legitimate king of the Vandals, was very favorable

to the Catholics, thanks to the early influence of his Catholic mother Eudoxia, daughter of Valentinian III. He recalled the bishops banished by his father. At the same time he kept up friendly relations with the court of the Emperor. Defeated by the Moors, Hilderic sought aid at Constantinople, and in some way recognized the supremacy of Justinian. Such policy offended the Arian Vandals. Accordingly his cousin Gelimer, the head of the Arian party, deposed and imprisoned him, assumed royal power, and treated the remonstrances of Justinian with contempt. Under these circumstances the Vandal kingdom fell an easy prey to the military genius of Belisarius, the general of Justinian. (Destruction, see No. 126.)

E. A. Freeman: *Aëtius and Boniface:* E. H. R., v. 2, p. 417. — *Aëtius and Boniface:* Hodgkin, I., 1, ch. 9; *Fall of Africa*, p. 454. — *Vandals:* Hodgkin, II., 3, ch. 2. — On Vandals see also, Sheppard: *Fall of Rome.* — J. B. Bury: *Later Rome*, etc.; Oman: *Europe*, 476–918. — Hatzfeld-Holt: *St. Augustine.* — Finlay: *Greece.*

THE SUCCESSORS OF THEODOSIUS THE GREAT, 379-395.

Last Reunion of the Roman Empire, 394–395. Final Separation of the Empire, 395, into

I. THE WESTERN EMPIRE, 395-476.

(Capital: *Rome*, since 402, *Ravenna*).

Honorius, 395–423.
(Joannes, 424.)
Valentinian III, 425–455. (His mother Galla Placidia, regent.)
Petronius Maximus, 455.
Avitus, 455–456
Majoranus, 457–461.
Libius Severus, 461–465.
(Interregnum of Ricimer, 465–67.)
Anthimius, 467–472.
Olybrius, 472.
Glycerius, 473.
Julius Nepos, 473–75.
Romulus Augustulus, 476.

END OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, 476.

II. THE EASTERN, BYZANTINE, LATER GREEK EMPIRE, 395-1453.

(Capital: *Byzantium*, *Nova Roma*, or **CONSTANTINOPLE**.)

Arcadius, 395–408
Theodosius II., 408–450.
ST. PULCHERIA (d. 453) and **MARCIAN**, 450–57.
Leo I., 457–474.
Zeno, 474–491.
Anastasius, 491–518.
JUSTIN, 518–527.
JUSTINIAN I, 527–565.
Justin II., 565–578.
Tiberius II., 578–582.
Maurice, 582–602.
Phocas, 602–610.
HERACLIUS, 610–641. } Line of Heraclius.
Constantine or Constans II., 641–68. } Line of Heraclius.
Constantine IV., Pogonatus, 668–85. } Line of Heraclius.
Justinian II., 685–711. } Line of Heraclius.
Philippicus, 711–713.
Anastasius II., 713–716.
Theodosius III., 716–717.
Leo III., the Isaurian, 717–741.
Constantine V., Copronymus, 741–775.

TEUTONIC KINGDOMS, FOUNDED ON ROMAN SOIL.

First Invasions of the Empire.

1. The *Huns* overpowered the *Alans* and the *Ostrogoths* on the northern shore of the Black Sea, 375.
2. The three nations drove the *Visigoths* across the Danube into *Moesia*, 376.
3. The *Visigoths*, ill-treated by the Byzantines and reinforced by bands of *Huns*, *Alans* and *Ostrogoths*, overran *Thrace*, and defeated *Valens* at *Hadrianople*, 378.
4. The Visigoths inhabited *Thrace*, *Moesia* and *Dacia* as foederati or allies of Theodosius the Great, 381–95. After the death of Theodosius they chose a king of their own, **ALARIC THE BALT.**

Alaric's Expeditions.

1. From *Moesia* to *Greece*, the *Peloponnesus*, and northward to *Illyricum*, 395–398. Alaric, Prefect of Eastern Illyricum.
2. From *Eastern Illyricum* to *Northern Italy;* defeated at *Verona* by **STILICHO**. Alaric returned to *Illyricum*, 400–403; Prefect of Western Illyricum.

TEUTONIC KINGDOMS FOUNDED ON ROMAN SOIL. — *Continued.*

3. Alaric with his whole nation invaded *Italy* for the second time, 408, roamed through Northern and Central Italy, besieged *Rome* in 408 and 409, and **STORMED AND SACKED ROME**, 410. Thence he marched south, and died at *Cosenza*, 410.
4. His successors *Athaulf* and *Wallia* led the Visigoths back through Italy into *Gaul* and *Spain*, 410-416.

Ratger's Invasion of Italy.

Meanwhile *Alans*, *Burgundians*, *Suevians* and *Vandals* under *Ratger* (Radagaisus) crossed the Danube, occupied the passes of the Alps; 200,000 of them invaded *Italy*, but were defeated by *Stilicho* near *Florence*, 406. Those who escaped joined their comrades in the Alps and crossed the **RHINE** in the new year's night, 406-407. Of these invaders, the *Alans* and part of the *Vandals* disappeared as nations, the rest founded kingdoms.

Kingdom.	*Founder and other Kings.*	*Converted.*	*Destroyed.*	*Battles, etc.*
I. The Kingdom of the **BURGUNDIANS** in eastern *Gaul*, 407-534. Capital, *Lyons.*	*Gundicar.* Other Kings: *Gundobald*, the law-giver; *St. Sigismund.*	By Gallic bishops under the care of **ST. GREGORY THE GREAT** and *St. Sigismund* (about 516).	Conqnered by the sons of *Clovis*, Frankish Kings, 534.	
II. The Kingdom of the **SUEVIANS** in northwestern *Spain*, 409-585.	King *Hermaneric.*	By Spanish bishops.	Conquered and annexed by *Leovigild*, king of the *Visigoths*, 585.	
III. The Kingdom of the **VISIGOTHS** in southern *Gaul*, capital, *Toulouse* (*Gothia*, *Septimania*, *Regnum Tolosanum*) and the greater part of *Spain*, cap. *Toledo*, 416-711.	King *Wallia.*— House of Alaric, see No. 75. Other prominent Kings: *Leovigild* (d. 569), **RECCARED** (d. 601), the law-giver *Sisibut* (d. 621), *Wamba* (d. 680).	After the martyrdom of *St. Hermenegild*, son of *Leovigild*, under the auspices of **GREGORY THE GREAT**, by *SS. Leander* and *Isidore of Sevilla*, in the reign of **RECCARED**.	Under the last king *Roderic*, by the *Saracens* landing from Africa under *Tarik* and *Musa* (Gibraltar) in 711-713.	*Tarik's* victory after a nine day's battle at **XERES DE LA FRONTERA** over *Roderic*, 711. Conquest of Spain completed by *Musa*, 712. Visigoths driven into the *Asturian* mountains.
IV. The Kingdom of the **VANDALS** in northern *Africa*, and for a time in *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, 439-534.	**GENSERIC**, King of the *Astingian Vandals.* The other kings see No. 88.	Remained Arians and cruel persecutors of the Catholics, save *Gunthamund* and *Hilderic*, son of Huneric and the Catholic Eudoxia.	Conquered by **BELISARIUS**, the great general of the Byzantine Emperor *Justinian I.* Northern Africa became an eastern *Exarchate.*	*Carthage* taken 439. *Rome* sacked 455. } by *Genseric.* *Belisarius'* victory over Vandals *ad Decimum*, 533. *Carthage* taken by *Belisarius*, 534.

The Military Empire of the *Turanian* **HUNS** in Pannonia, **434–454.**	**ATTILA**, brother of *Bleda*, whom he murdered; "the Scourge of God."	Remained heathen, destroyers of churches and monasteries, cities and towns.	The Empire broke up at Attila's death about 454.	Hunnish invasion of *Gaul*. **BATTLE OF THE NATIONS ON THE CATALAUNIAN FIELD**; victory of *Aëtius* and his allies over *Attila; Theodoric I.* among the 160,000 slain. Aryan and Christian civilization saved from Turanian barbarism, 451. Invasion of Italy. **ST. LEO I.** and *Attila* at *Mantua*, 452.
V. The **ANGLO-SAXON HEPTARCHY** founded between **449** and 583.	(See page 69.)			
VI. The Kingdom of **ODOVAKER** in *Italy, Sicily* and *Dalmatia*, **476**-493. Capital, *Ravenna*. **FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.**	*Odovaker*, raised on the shield by *Rugians, Herulians*, etc., Teutonic mercenaries of Rome.	Remained Arians, but Odovaker fair and respectful to the Catholic Church.	Destroyed by **THEODORIC THE GREAT**, King of the *Ostrogoths*, invading Italy with his whole nation.	Victories on the *Isonzo, Adige* and *Adda*, 489-90. Siege and capture of *Ravenna*, 490-93. Odovaker treacherously murdered at a banquet.
VII. *Merovingian* Kingdom of the **FRANKS** in *Gaul*, **486**–752. *Alamannia* added in 496; *Thuringia*, 527; *Aquitania*, 531; *Burgundy*, 534; *Bavaria*, ab. 548.	**CHLODWIG**, or **CLOVIS**, the *Sigambrian* soldier-king of the *Salian Franks*, grandson of *Merovig*, who gave his name to the dynasty. The Merovingian House, see No. 182. Clovis ruled Gallo-Romans and Franks by the *Salic Law*.	*Chlodwig* and 3,000 Frankish warriors baptized by *St. Remy* at *Rheims*. Conversion of Franks effected in one generation by Gallic bishops. Franks the first and only nation on the continent Catholic from the beginning.	The Frankish kingdom was not destroyed, it passed into a mighty Empire. But the *Carolingian* dynasty replaced, in a peaceful revolution, the *Merovingian House* in 752. (**PIPIN, THE SHORT.**)	Battle of **SOISSONS** won by *Clovis* over *Syagrius*, last general of a Roman army, 486. Battle of **ZÜLPICH** over *Alamanni*, led to the conversion of the Franks, 496. Battle of *Voullon*. *Visigoths* defeated and part of their Gallic possessions conquered.
VIII. Kingdom of the **OSTROGOTHS** in *Italy, Sicily, Rhaetia*, **493**-555. For a time, great Teutonic Empire, reaching from *Pannonia* to the *Rhine*	**THEODORIC THE GREAT**, *Amal* King of the *Ostrogoths*, 493-526. The House of the Amals, see No. 127. Theodoric ruled the Romans as patrician by	The Ostrogoths remained Arians. But Theodoric maintained friendly relations with the Holy See, and protected the Catholics until, towards the close of his reign,	Destroyed in the Twenty Years' War between Emperor *Justinian I.* (**BELISARIUS, NARSES**) and the last three soldier kings of the Goths, *Witiges*,	Occupation of *Rome*, 537. Capture of *Ravenna*, 540. } by *Belisarius*. Romans defeated by *Totila* at *Faenza*, 541; Rome taken by Totila, 546. *Totila* de-

TEUTONIC KINGDOMS FOUNDED ON ROMAN SOIL. — *Continued.*

and from *Sicily* to southern *Spain*. Capital, *Ravenna*.	the Roman laws, the Goths by Gothic laws.	he inaugurated a persecution (*Pope St. John, Boethius, Symmachus*).	**TOTILA**, *Teias*, 535-555.	feated and slain by *Narses* at *Tagina*, 552. Decisive victory of *Narses* over *Teias* at **CUMAE**, 553.

All Italy an **EXARCHATE** of the **EASTERN EMPIRE**, 555-568.

IX. Kingdom of the **LONGOBARDS**, **568**-776, in northern *Italy*, gradually extending to the south. Capital, *Pavia*. Chief Duchies, *Spoleto*, *Benevento*, *Friuli* (Forum Julii).	*Alboin*, King of the Longobards. Other kings: *Kleph*, *Authari*, **AGILULF** and **THEODOLINDA**. **LUITPRAND**, *Aistulf*, *Desiderius*. The Lombard kings ruled the Romans under Lombard laws.	Under the auspices of **ST. GREGORY THE GREAT**, by the exertion of the Catholic Queen **THEODOLINDA** and her husband **AGILULF**. (Iron crown of Lombardy sent by Gregory the Great to Theodolinda?)	Conq'red by **CHARLES THE GREAT** in two expeditions, 774. (Lombards retained their national laws) in 776. (Lombardy became a *Frankish* kingdom).	

§ 6.

FIRST TEUTONIC INVASIONS OF BRITAIN.

91. Britain, Roman Province. — The time and manner of the first introduction of Christianity in Britain is unknown. St. Alban was the most renowned martyr of this Celtic nation; he was martyred at Verulamium (now St. Albans) under Diocletian. When the Roman hold on Britain relaxed, the Celtic Picts and the Scots who had emigrated from Ireland long before the beginning of this period, began to raid and harass the inhabitants south of the Roman wall, while Saxon pirates crowded to the shores. Theodosius, father of Theodosius the Great, sent into Britain by Valentinian I., succeeded for a time in driving back Picts, Scots and Saxons. But when Alaric besieged Rome, the legions were finally withdrawn from Britain.

92. Arrival of Hengist and Horsa. — In this urgent distress, Vortigern, one of the thirty-three British kings, is said to have invited two pirate chiefs from the continent, the brothers Hengist and Horsa, to aid them against the Picts and Scots. They arrived at the head of a party of Jutes from Denmark at the island of Thanet, 449, and drove back the Scots and Picts. From allies of the Britons they became their invaders and conquerors; and Hengist and Horsa established the first purely Teutonic kingdom in Britain, the kingdom of Kent. The Britons were either slain or enslaved, or driven inland. Every trace of Christianity and Roman or British institutions within the reach of the invaders was swept away.

93. Later Invasions. — In the course of time the Jutes were followed by part of the Saxons (from seax, sword), dwellers on the Elbe, and all the Angles, who came from Schleswig and southern Denmark. Of the three invading nations, all Low-Germans, the Angles or Engle subsequently gave the name, the Saxons the royal dynasty, the Jutes the Catholic religion to England. For the next century and a half, however, they retained their heathen religion, as they always retained their Teutonic language and customs.

94. Settlements of Saxons. — The first English settlers in Kent, as stated, were Jutes. A band of Saxons under Aella planted themselves on the coast called after them Sussex. 477. Aella of Sussex is the first of the seven Bretwaldas or over-kings mentioned by Venerable Bede. Other Saxons under Cerdic founded to the west of the South Saxons the kingdom of Wessex. The long and bitter contest between the Catholic Britons and heathen West-Saxons is embodied in the epic legends of King Arthur, the champion of British liberty, language and faith. The victory of Cerdic's grandson, Ceawlin, the second Bretwalda, at Deorham, opened the lower Severn valley to the Saxons, 577. Again other Saxons founded Essex and Middlesex as one kingdom with London as capital.

95. Settlements of Angles. — The Angles under Uffa occupied the east coast south of the Humber, founding the kingdom of East-Anglia. But by far the greater number of Angles settled north of the Humber in three kingdoms: Bernicia founded by Ida the Flamebearer, 547, Deira founded by Aella, 559, and the inland kingdom of Mercia by Cridda, 585. Ida the Flamebearer and his son Aethelfrith the Destroyer subdued, burnt out and exterminated more Britons than any other Teutonic king. The great kingdom of Northumbria emerged from the union of Deira and Bernicia after the overthrow of Aella of Deira. The seven kingdoms thus remaining are called the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. The Britons, whom the invaders called "Welsh" (from walas, stranger), occupied the whole western coast of Britain (Cornwallis, Wales, Cambria, Strathclyde), or emigrated to Armorica, the opposite coast of Gaul, henceforth called Brittany.

96. Aethelberht of Kent and St. Augustine. — Aethelberht of Kent (592–617), great-grandson of Hengist and third Bretwalda, was married to a Catholic princess, Bertha, the daughter of the Frankish king Charibert.

St. Gregory the Great, when still abbot of his monastery on the Caelian Hill, was struck one day by the beauty of a few English boy-slaves offered for sale on the market place. He conceived an ardent desire to preach the gospel to the pagan invaders of Britain, but was prevented from leaving Italy by the clergy and people of

Rome. When he mounted the throne of St. Peter, he appointed St. Augustine, the prior of his own Caelian monastery, with 39 Benedictine companions, for this mission. Pope Gregory directed the missionaries to destroy the heathen images but to preserve the temples and consecrate them to the true God in order to draw the people more readily to the Christian worship. They were also to leave to the converts their rustic games and their banquets, stripped however of the national sins of gluttony and drunkenness, and reduced to innocent recreations, in order to win the neophytes for higher consolations. St. Augustine landed at Ebbsfleet on Thanet in 597, and obtained a favorable hearing from Aethelberht. On Pentecost of the same year the king was baptized, and on Christmas 10,000 of his subjects followed his example. St. Augustine as first Archbishop of Canterbury, founded the sees of Rochester and London. His efforts to conciliate the British bishops in the West, and to gain their co-operation in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, was frustrated by the national animosity of the Britons against the German invaders. St. Augustine predicted disaster to them, if they would persist in their unchristian aversion. By establishing the Catholic religion in Kent and Essex, Aethelberht laid the first foundation of a united England, and placed the new Teutonic kingdoms in communication with the Western World, with Roman and Christian civilization.

97. Battle of Chester. — Aethelfrith of Northumbria attacked the Britons of Cambria, because Eadwine, the son of the dethroned Aella of Deira, was living among them. In the battle of Chester St. Augustine's prophecy was verified: 2000 monks of Bangor were massacred. By the victory of Chester the Angles pushed their territorial possessions to the western coast, separated Wales from Cambria, and put an end to the continuity of the British territory.

98. First Conversion of the Angles. — The fourth Bretwalda, Readwald of East Anglia, espoused the cause of the fugitive Eadwine against Aethelfrith the Destroyer, who lost the battle and his life on the river Idle. Eadwine became king of Northumbria and fifth Bretwalda (616–633). St. Paulinus, a companion of St. Augustine, baptized Eadwine and a vast number of his Angles at York, 627. Eadwine founded the Cathedral of York, and Pope Honorius

appointed St. Paulinus first Archbishop of the new see. Eadwine displayed an extraordinary zeal in the spread of Christianity in Northumbria, East Anglia and Mercia, where Felix, a Burgundian prelate, preached the gospel.

99. Eadwine of Northumbria, 616–633. — The reign of Eadwine, the first of the Northumbrian Bretwaldas, was a period of peace and prosperity, which perished in one dire catastrophe. Mercia had grown into a powerful kingdom under the formidable Penda (626–657), the grandson of Cridda, the founder. Contrary to Anglo-Saxon usage he allied himself with Cadwallon, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, and defeated and slew St. Eadwine in the battle of Heathfield, 633. Northumbria was devastated, even more by the Christian Cadwallon than the heathen Penda; so deep a hatred did the Britons bear to the Anglo-Saxon invaders. Northumbria and East-Anglia, next overrun by Penda, sank back into heathenism; only Kent remained Christian.

100. Oswald, 633–42. — Oswald, the son of Aethelfrith the Destroyer, had fled into Scotland, when his father had been defeated by Readwald. He was baptized and educated in the monastery of Iona. After the fall of the Deirian Eadwine, the Bernician Oswald returned with a small army to Northumbria, and defeated the Britons on Heaven's Field near the wall of the Picts; Cadwallon himself remained on the field, and Oswald became the sixth Bretwalda.

He called St. Aidan and a number of his Celtic brethren from Iona. St. Aidan founded the celebrated island-monastery of Lindisfarne on the Northumbrian coast. The holy monk and the holy king converted Northumbria a second time, St. Aidan preaching and St. Oswald interpreting his words to the people. On the occasion of Oswald's marriage with a princess of the House of Cerdic, Wessex too was christianized.

Penda alone remained the political enemy of the Christian faith. Allying himself once more with the Britons, he defeated and slew St. Oswald in the battle of Maserfeld in East Anglia.

101. Oswiu, 647–670. — Oswiu, the brother of St. Oswald, obtained possession of Northumbria as the seventh Bretwalda, the last one mentioned by Venerable Bede. In the battle of Winwead he defeated and slew Penda. All the children of Penda became

Christians. Mercia was converted, and Essex reconverted by the exertions of the monks of Lindisfarne and the co-operation of Oswiu, who founded twelve monasteries in thanksgiving for the victory of Winwead. After the death of Oswiu the kings of Northumbria wielded only local power.

102. **Ecclesiastical Affairs — St. Wilfrith, Archbishop of York.** — A general review of the conversion of England shows, that Kent was converted exclusively by Roman missionaries, Essex, Wessex and East-Anglia by the efforts of continental and Celtic monks, Northumbria and Mercia by Celtic missionaries. The new faith in the brief period of sixty years revolutionized the life and habits of the nation, and did so without the shedding of a single drop of blood. In many cases the new religion was discussed in the "Council of the Wise" (Witenagemot), and accepted by the nobles and heads of families. Wholesale baptisms followed but with full freedom to the individual. Monasteries sprang up on every side and became mission stations, centers from which preachers went forth to convert the country and to conduct its worship. John R. Green beautifully describes the changes wrought by Catholic Christianity in the individual life of the people. "From the cradle to the grave it forced on the Englishman a new law of conduct, new habits, new occupations of life and society. It entered above all into the sphere of the home; it curtailed his powers over child and wife and slave; it forbade infanticide, the putting away of wives, or cruelty to the serf. It denied to the king his heritage of the blood of the gods; it proclaimed slavery an evil, war an evil, manual labor a virtue. It met the feud face to face by denouncing revenge. It held up gluttony and drunkenness as sins. It claimed to control every circumstance of life. It interfered with labor customs by the prohibitions of toil on Sundays and holy days. It forced on a rude community to which bodily joys were dear, long and painful fasts" and other mortifications.— The characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon Church were purity of doctrine, intimate union with Rome, a national devotion to "Our Lady St. Mary," which earned for England the name of "Mary's dowry," and a general devotion to St. Peter. The very name of Rome threw a spell over churchmen and laymen, bishops and kings, and drew them in frequent pilgrimages to the tomb of the Apostle. Anglo-Saxon England stands unique in history for the number of its royal Saints, kings and queens. Aethelberht of Kent, Edwin and Oswald of Northumbria, Oswine of Deira, Sebbe of Essex, Aethelred of Mercia, Ina of Wessex and many others are numbered with the Saints. No less than 26 English kings and queens exchanged the pomp of royalty for the poverty of the cloister.

103. **Controverted Questions.** — The double origin of conversion produced two points of difference in the discipline of the Roman and Celtic

missionaries: the form of the tonsure and the day fixed for the celebration of Easter. It was the merit of St. Wilfrith to decide the long-standing controversy in favor of the Roman usages. He was a noble Northumbrian, had made his novitiate at Lindisfarne, and was then abbot of Ripon. In a great Council at Whitby the Roman usages, in answer to the powerful pleading of Wilfrith, were accepted by all the English churches, 664. Southern Ireland had already accepted them. It is chiefly owing to his authority and example, that northern Ireland and Scotland also adopted unity of discipline.

The reign of Ina (Ine, Ini) saw the rise of higher education in England. For the first seventy years after St. Augustine's arrival, education in England was confined to the rudiments. Students who aspired to higher knowledge, went to Ireland. It was Archbishop Theodore and Hadrian, abbot of Canterbury, who founded schools for higher education in England. St. Benedict Biscop transplanted the system to the northern abbeys of Wearmouth and Yarrow. The studies included grammar, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, rhetoric and logic leading up to theology, arithmetic, versification and music (the Roman chant). Kings gave their leisure hours to study, and princes and nobles sent their children to cloister schools. English nuns established convent schools and corresponded with learned bishops in Latin. Ceadmon, first a ploughman, then a monk of Whitby, composed the Paraphrase, the first great Anglo-Saxon song. What Caedmon did for the north, was done for the south by St. Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne. Venerable Bede, abbot of Yarrow, first among English scholars, theologians and historians, mastered the treasures of ancient learning, and left us his priceless Ecclesiastical History. No sums were spared to obtain books from every part of the continent. The English libraries became so rich that a century later when Charles the Great was organizing his schools under the guidance of Alcuin of York, he sent to England for books.

Difficulties arose about the right of St. Wilfrith to the See of York, to which he had been appointed. Pope Vitalian sent St. Theodore of Tarsus as Archbishop to Canterbury, who recognized St. Wilfrith as Archbishop of York. Theodore was acknowledged as Metropolitan by all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. He organized the English Episcopate and parish system, and his ecclesiastical synods became the forerunners of the English Parliament. National unity, as in the Frankish kingdom and in Germany, was chiefly represented by the Church. Amidst changing rulers and political dissensions St. Wilfrith's was a stormy life. Repeated persecutions, imprisonment, exiles, appeals to Rome, four journeys to the Holy See, made him a worthy example for the great English churchmen of the Middle Ages. During one of his periods of exile he converted Sussex, the last heathen kingdom, to the Catholic faith.

104. Ina, King of Wessex, 688–725. — Under Ina, a descendant of Cerdic, Wessex came to the front. He conquered

Essex, Sussex, and Cornwall, but is still more renowned by his laws, the Dooms of Ina.

While an Anglo-Saxon literature rose within the monastic cloisters, political disturbances drove Ina to seek religious retirement in Rome, where he is said to have founded the School of the Saxons.

105. Aethelbald of Mercia, 733–757. — The anarchy which had rendered Ina disgusted with the world, made Wessex an easy prey to Aethelbald, king of Mercia, who, by 733, ruled the whole Saxon power south of the Humber. But his attack on Northumbria not only failed, but encouraged Wessex to rise against the Mercian supremacy. Routed by the West-Saxons at Burford (753), Aethelbald fell gallantly fighting at Secandun, 757. Henceforth Teutonic Britain remained divided among the three kingdoms Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, until Ecgberht united them under his scepter.

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THE ANGLO-SAXON HEPTARCHY.

Kingdoms.	*Founders and Kings.*	*Battles.*	*Results.*	*Conversion.*
1. **KENT**; *Jutes*, 449.	**HENGIST** and **HORSA**.			Kent, under **AETHELBERHT** and **BERTHA**, and Essex, by **ST. AUGUSTINE**, first Archbishop of *Canterbury* and his 39 companions, sent to England by **ST GREGORY THE GREAT**, 597. Northumbria and East Anglia were first converted by *St. Paulinus*, first Archbishop of *York* and the Burgundian *Felix*. **PENDA** everywhere destroyed Christianity except in Kent. Wessex and Mercia converted, Essex, East Anglia and Northumbria reconverted by Celtic monks from the monasteries of *Iona* and *Lindisfarne*, especially **ST. AIDAN**, assisted by **OSWALD** and **OSWIU**. Sussex was converted by **ST. WILFRITH OF YORK**.
2. **SUSSEX**; *Saxons*, 477.	*Aelle*, 1st Bretwalda.			
3. **WESSEX**; *Saxons.*	**CERDIC.** His grandson *Ceawlin*, 2d Bretwalda.	*Deorham*, 577.	Opened the *Severn* valley to the Saxons.	
4. **ESSEX** with **MIDDLESEX** (London); *Saxons.*				
5. **EAST ANGLIA**; *Angles*	*Uffa.*			
Bernicia; *Angles*, 547.	*Ida, the Flamebearer.*			
Deira; *Angles*, 559.	*Aella*, deposed by			
6. **NORTHUMBRIA.**	*Aethelfrith of Northumbria.*	*Chester.*	The Britons of Cambria, who had received *Aella's* fugitive son *Eadwine*, defeated by *Aethelfrith*; Wales separated from Cambria.	
7. **MERCIA**; Angles, 585.	*Cridda.*			
Kent.	**AETHELBERHT**, 3d Bretwalda, 592-617; **QUEEN BERTHA.**			
East Anglia.	*Readwald*, 4th Bretwalda.	*River Idle*, 616.	*Aethelfrith* defeated by *Readwald*; *Eadwine*, King of Northumbria.	
Northumbria.	**EADWINE** of Northumbria, 616-633, 5th Bretwalda.	*Heathfield*, 633.	*Eadwine* defeated and slain by *Penda*, allied with *Cadwallon.*	
Mercia.	*Penda* (heathen), 626-651.	*Heaven's Field*, 633.	*Cadwallon* defeated and slain by *Oswald.*	

Northumbria.	**OSWALD**, 633-642, 6th Bretwalda.	*Maserfeld*, 642.	*Oswald* defeated and slain by *Penda.*	**EARLY ENGLISH CHURCHMEN:**
Northumbria.	**OSWIU**, 647-670, 7th Bretwalda.	*Winwaed*, 657.	*Penda* defeated and slain by *Oswiu.*	*St. Wilfrith of York.* *St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne.* *St. Benedict Biscop*, founder of Yarrow. *Caedmon* at Whitby (Caedmon's Paraphrase). **VENERABLE BEDE.** The first English historian, Abbot of Yarrow. *Winfrith* (*St. Boniface*), the friend of Ina, later apostle of Germany, etc.
Wessex, Essex, Sussex and Cornwall.	United by **INA**, King of Wessex, 688-725.			
Mercia and Saxon Kingdoms south of the Humber.	United by *Aethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, 733-757.	*Burford*, 753.	Aethelbald routed by the West Saxons.	
		Secandun, 757.	Aethelbald fell at the hands of the West Saxons.	
All the smaller Kingdoms of the Heptarchy united by	**ECGBERHT OF WESSEX**, 827.		The *Heptarchy* reduced to three Kingdoms: *Wessex*, *Mercia* and *Northumbria.*	

CHAPTER II.

THE INVADERS OF ITALY.

§ 1.

THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

106. Causes of the Fall of the Roman Empire: —

(1) For three centuries in ten fearful persecutions Rome had stubbornly refused the faith of Christ which was bound to conquer the world, and had identified its political existence with heathenism, which was bound to give way to Christianity. All that was best and most generous in human nature was enlisted not on the side of the persecuting state, but of the persecuted Christians. Those who by their character and virtues might have become the props of the state, were butchered by rulers who claimed divine honor. When Christianity triumphed under Constantine, Roman society had sunk too low to be fully regenerated even by the Church, which, besides, was distracted by the great heresies of the East, and persecuted by Arian Emperors.

(2) The population of Roman descent was constantly on the decrease, both in numbers and strength, owing partly to the great plagues and earthquakes of the second and third centuries, partly to the corruption and immorality of heathen society, and its consequence, a widespread aversion to marriage.

(3) From the third century when the imperial purple was bestowed by the army, the chief concern of usurper after usurper was how to wring from the people the sums necessary to satisfy the greed of the soldiers. In a state of anarchy, in which of the thirty-four Emperors who reigned from Commodus to Diocletian, thirty were killed by their subjects, all constitutional restraints disappeared, all orderly administration became impossible.

(4) Under the despotism of the Empire every class of Roman society was degraded. The aristocracy lost its power and independence. The senate, from Augustus to Romulus Augustulus, not once rose to the occasion of resisting even the maddest excesses of mad Emperors. The middle class, represented by the municipalities of Italy and the provinces, were crushed by over-taxation. The funds which were formerly devoted to the improvement of the towns and their lands, to roads, bridges and local needs, were, since the time of Diocletian, absorbed by the imperial treasury, and spent on pomp, on salaries of an army of new officials, and on donations to the legions and barbarians. Thus the power of self-defense against foreign invasions was lost. That class above all, on which depends the prosperity of a common-

wealth in peace and war, a free and self-supporting peasantry, almost disappeared from the Roman soil. The sale, in Rome, of corn drawn from Egypt and North Africa at half the cost, and later the free distribution of bread ruined the Italian farmers. Arable land was turned into pasture. Large estates, the so-called latifundia, passed into the hands of senators and revenue farmers enriched by the plunder of the provinces, and were worked by unmarried slaves. Thus Italy was stripped of its natural defenders, the sturdy freeholders, who in earlier periods had formed the sinews of the Roman armies.

(5) The repeated incursions of wandering nations in arms, and the conquests of the richest provinces by Teutonic tribes, after Rome had ceased to conquer and even to defend its frontiers, did the rest. Rome was thrice taken and sacked. This destroyed the widespread illusion, shared for a long time by the barbarians themselves, that Rome was invincible.

107. The Last Emperors of the Western Empire. — After the sacking of Rome, by the Vandals, Avitus, a noble Gallo-Roman, was raised to the throne by Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths, to sanction by his authority some conquests of the Visigoth king made at the expense of the Suevians. At the time Ricimer, a Sueve, was Patrician of Rome and commander-in-chief of the German mercenaries. He enjoyed great popularity on account of a victory won over a Vandal fleet. He set himself up as kingmaker, deposed Avitus, and successively promoted and again degraded Mayoranus, Libius Severus, and Anthimius, nominated by the Byzantine court. When Ricimer turned against Anthimius to raise a fourth candidate, Olybrius, Anthimius defended himself in Rome. The unfortunate city, after a three months siege by Ricimer, suffered the third and most terrible sacking of the century. Anthimius was slain, but the same year, both the kingmaker and his last Emperor died, 472. Then Gundobald, nephew of Ricimer, a fugitive Burgundian prince, and later king and lawgiver of the Burgundians, conferred, as Patrician of Rome, the title of Augustus on Glycerius, who in his turn was deposed by Julius Nepos, the Byzantine candidate. Finally Orestes, a former secretary of Attila, and now Patrician and general of the barbarian troops, unseated Nepos, and put up his son Romulus Augustulus as Emperor of the West.

108. Fall of the Roman Empire. — The Roman army was in great part composed of barbarian foederati, Herulians, Rugians, Scirri, and other Teutonic tribes from beyond the Middle Danube. These soldiers asked Orestes to assign them one third of the land of Italy for their inheritance. Orestes denied their request. Thereupon the Scirrian Odovaker, a noble chief of the foederati, offered to obtain the land for the soldiers and accordingly was raised on the

shield. He stormed Pavia and beheaded Orestes. Romulus Augustulus was sent to the villa of Lucius Lucullus near Naples and assigned an annual pension. Thus fell the Roman Empire of the West in an obscure campaign of twelve days, 476.

109. Odovaker's Position. — The Roman senate, powerless against Odovaker, sent an embassy to the court of Constantinople, requesting that the East and West should form but one Empire under Zeno (474–91). It obtained for Odovaker the appointment to govern the Roman population of Italy as Patrician, while he ruled the Germans as independent king. Odovaker respected the Roman laws, names and feelings, and although he remained an Arian, showed high esteem to the Catholic religion and its representatives. He resided in Ravenna. Odovaker obtained Sicily from Genseric for an annual tribute, conquered Dalmatia, defeated German bands in Noricum, and celebrated the last Roman triumph on record.

The bond of union between the German army and their chosen king was interest, not fealty. Odovaker had kept his promise and had confiscated one third of the land of each proprietor for the benefit of the troops. He was a real king in Italy and signed himself Odovacar rex, but he was not a national king, like the kings of the Burgundians, Visigoths, Saxons and Angles. The many broken tribes that made up his mercenary army, were in no sense a nation. Hence, when a new people, the Ostrogoths, led by a truly national king, appeared on the scene, the power of Odovaker broke down.

Hodgkin: *Invaders*, II, 3, ch. 2–8. — T. Bryce: *The Holy Roman Empire*, ch. 3. — Oman: *Introduction;* Europe, 476–918. — S. Dill: *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (from Julian to Romulus Augustulus). — Church: *Beginning of M. A.* — Lavisse: *General View of Political Hist.*, ch. 1. — Hodgkin: *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, Grisar, S. J. (Contemporary Review, '98, Jan., p. 51. See also Roman Histories quoted before, Sheppard; Bury, Merivale).

§ 2.

THE KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS UNDER THE PERSONAL RULE OF THE MEROVINGIANS.

110. Remnant of Roman Power in Gaul. — Of all the territory of the Western Empire, there existed now only a remnant in

Gaul, under the last Roman governor and general Syagrius. Odovaker had confined his claims to the boundaries of the diocese of Italy (see No. 38, 3), and never extended them to Gaul. The Romans in Gaul were hemmed in, on the south by the Visigoths, on the east by the Burgundians, on the north by the Franks, and on the northwest by the fugitive Britons, who settled Armorica or Little Brittany. This last remnant of Roman power was to disappear under the blows of the Franks, ten years after the fall of the Western Empire.

111. The Franks. Battle of Soissons, 486. — The confederation of High-German tribes called the Franks was divided into two principal branches, the Salians (from Ysala, Yssel), and the Ripuarians (from ripa, bank of the Rhine), with several under-tribes governed by separate chiefs, until the Sigambrian Clovis or Chlodwig, soldier king of the Salian Franks, attacked and extinguished the separate Frankish principalities and united the different tribes into one kingdom. Only Sigibert still maintained a Ripuarian kingdom at Koeln. Chlodwig, the son of Childeric and the grandson of Merovig or Merwig, was the founder of the Merovingian House. Through the Rhine the Franks remained in immediate communication with their tribesmen in Germany, whence they could draw reinforcements whenever these were needed.

Having thus consolidated his power, Chlodwig overran Gaul and defeated Syagrius in the battle of Soissons, 486. Syagrius was murdered in prison. Clovis then conquered the chief cities of Gaul, and in deference to the traditions of the Gallo-Romans assumed the title of Roman Patrician. For although the Roman Empire was now continued only in Constantinople or New-Rome, still the old Roman names and feelings continued in the West. Thus Clovis before the close of his career obtained from the court of Constantinople the title of Roman Consul. Clovis made no division of private property, but appropriated the unoccupied lands and the extensive Roman crown-domains. He ruled both Franks and Gallo-Romans by one, the Salian law.

112. Battle of Zülpich, 496. — By the conquest of Gaul Chlodwig came in conflict with the neighboring Alamanni, who dwelt eastward on the Upper and Middle Rhine. Like the Frisians

in the North, and the Thuringians in the Northeast, they had taken no part in the migration of nations. Disturbed in their southern seats, they pushed northward, threatening the Ripuarians under Sigibert of Koeln. Chlodwig marched to his aid and fought a great battle at Zülpich. (Tolbiacum near Koeln.)

In the stress of battle, when the Franks were sorely pressed by the Alamanni, Chlodwig vowed to embrace the faith of his wife, St. Chlotilda, the Catholic niece of the Burgundian Gundobald, if Christ should grant him the victory. And he gained a victory most important in its results. It established Frankish supremacy over the Alamanni and led to the baptism of Clovis and his sister and 3,000 of his warriors with their families, by St. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, and to the conversion of the Franks to the Catholic faith. The Franks, both Salian and Ripuarian, followed Chlodwig's example, and in one generation Frankish paganism disappeared.

113. "The Eldest Son of the Church." — Chlodwig's conversion greatly strengthened his power in Gaul, because he had made himself one in faith with the conquered race, and was loyally obeyed by them. "The eldest son of the Church," as he was later called, assumed the championship of the Gallic, Spanish, Burgundian and Visigothic Catholics. In this role he first weakened the kingdom of Gundobald. He next attacked the Visigoth Alaric II., the son and successor of Euric, in a bloody battle at Voullon near Poitiers, and defeated and slew him with his own hand, 507. Aquitaine was lost to the Visigoths. Returning from this campaign, Chlodwig showed himself to the people of Tours clad in a purple cloak and diadem sent him by the eastern Emperor Anastasius as a sign of legitimate power. Before the end of his life he was the undisputed master of Gaul and Alamannia, and the sole ruler of all the Franks, the Ripuarians included. His career, though unscrupulous, aggressive and cruel even to his own family,* brought it to pass in the hands of Providence, that the Franks and not the Goths were to direct the future

* NOTE. — This is the traditional estimate of Clovis, taken from St. Gregory of Tours. But it is almost certain that Gregory could not have written his ten books of Frankish history in the form in which we have it. Carolingian writers may well have tampered with the text to favor the new dynasty. After the narration of the traditional crimes of Clovis, St. Gregory continues: But God laid low his enemies day by day, and increased his realm, because he (Clovis) walked before Him with an upright heart, and did what was pleasing in His sight.

destinies of nearly all the Teutonic nations, and that the Catholic faith, not Arianism, was to be their religion.

"Though the Merovingian kings and their personal followers became Christians, they did not cease to be barbarians. Their lives were a constant struggle between two contrary principles." On the one hand are found cold-blooded murders, polygamy and unrestrained licentiousness, on the other noble acts of simple faith, humility and penance; on the one hand unscrupulous rapacity and greed of conquest, on the other a lavish generosity towards the Church and monastic institutions. Criminals and saints often lived under the same roof. Only gradually did the Church and especially the monasteries succeed in taming the wild passions of the Franks, still inflamed as they were by contact with Gallo-Roman corruption.

114. Frankish Kingdoms. — The unity of the kingdom of the Franks after the death of Clovis was sometimes monarchical, when one king by the death of his brothers or other relatives took the reins of government into his own hands, more frequently, however, this unity was only national, when several brothers re-distributed among themselves the smaller kingdoms. The chief provinces or kingdoms, as the case might be, were Austrasia or East Frankland, with Rheims or Metz for capitals; Burgundy with Orleans for capital; in these two kingdoms the original Teutonic spirit prevailed. In Neustria or West Frankland, with Paris or Soissons for capitals, and in southern Aquitaine a greater sympathy with Roman ways made itself felt in course of time. The national union was always represented (a) by the co-operation of the Frankish kings in their foreign relations and (b) by the united action of the Church, since the Frankish bishops met in one national Synod or Council. Eight times during the next 150 years the different kingdoms were divided and three times reunited under one ruler.

115. Frankish Conquests. — The Franks were able to employ, without meeting any opposition on the part of the native population, the ecclesiastical, civil and military services of the Latin race. They kept out any attempt at invasion by being constantly the aggressive party; they invaded Italy under Narses and after the Lombard invasion, without, however, gaining any hold in the country, and encroached even on the frontiers of the Eastern Empire. The sons of Clovis, who for the first time divided the kingdom, conquered Thuringia (527), Aquitaine (531), Burgundy (534), and Bavaria

between 541–548. Time and again the Frisians, the Thuringians, and the Alamanni, rising for their national independence, had to feel the power of the Franks. Chlotaire I., who reunited the kingdom, opened a series of wars with the Saxons, which lasted two centuries and a half and explain the deep hatred which the Saxons bore the Franks.

116. Family Wars. — At the death of Chlotaire I. the kingdom was divided among his four sons. The fierce rivalry of two queens, Brunhilda of Austrasia and Fredegunda of Neustria filled the Frankish kingdoms with anarchy. The contest rose out of a family feud. Political passions mingled with the excesses of family hatred and revenge for bloodshed. The two queens represented two Frankish parties and worked for two conflicting ends, Brunhilda for a strong, concentrated monarchy, Fredegunda for the supremacy of the aristocratic party. In this contest, carried on with steel and poison, and with all the horrors of a family and civil war, ten kings and princes of the blood were murdered, and the provinces repeatedly devastated with fire and sword. Fredegunda, guilty of many murders, died in 597.

The struggle was ended by the interference of Pipin of Landen and Arnulf (afterwards bishop of Metz), the two most prominent nobles of Austrasia, who declared in favor of Chlotaire II. of Neustria as sole king of the Franks, 613. Brunhilda's forces were defeated ; she herself was tied to a wild horse by the infuriated victors and dragged to death.

117. Victory of the Aristocratic Party. — With Brunhilda's fall the ascendency of the aristocracy over the royal power was decided. The nobles dictated to Chlotaire the conditions under which they allowed him to rule them. The Majores Domus or Mayors of the Palace, heretofore domestic officers of the king, assumed, one by one, the royal functions. Henceforth the phrase went: The King reigns, the Mayor of the Palace rules.

A. Thierry: *Narrative of the Merovingian Era.* — W. C. Perry: *The Franks.* — Godwin: *Ancient Gaul* (*Hist. of France.*) — Mrs. Hope: *Conversion of Teutonic Race; The Franks,* v. 1, ch. 1-3 and 7-8. — R. Parsons: *The Baptism of France,* A. C. Q., v. 21, p. 497. — Montalembert: *Monks of the West*; *The Monks Under the First Merovingians,* Book VI. — Hessels-Kern: *Lex Salica* (The Text with the Glosses). — Oman: *Europe, 476-918.* — Godefroy-Kurth: *St. Clôtilde* (Les Saints). — Fournier: *Cloris et la France au Baptistère de Reims.* — P. E. Fahlbeck: *La Royauté et le Droit royal des Francs* (486-614). — H. Grisar: *Rom und die fränkische Kirche, vornehmlich im 6ten Jahrh.* — Guizot: *Popular History of France.*

§ 3.

KINGDOM OF THE OSTROGOTHS IN ITALY, 493–555.

118. Theodoric the Great. — Theodoric, of the royal line of the Amals, joined to the energy and daring of an Ostrogothic chief the advantages of a civilized education, obtained at the Byzantine court of Leo I. where he spent his youth as a hostage of his nation. He became king of all the Ostrogoths and more than once harried the provinces of the Eastern Empire. In these wars the Bulgarians, a Turanian Tartar tribe, appear for the first time in history as the allies of Emperor Zeno. Theodoric reached (in 478) the very walls of Constantinople, and Zeno was glad to rid himself of his dangerous vassal by allowing him to conquer Italy.

119. Overthrow of Odovaker. — At the head of the whole nation, 200,000 warriors with their families, herds and household goods carried on 20,000 ox-wagons, Theodoric the Great left Moesia, 488, fought his way through the kingdom of the Gepids, the successors of the Huns in Pannonia, crossed the Julian Alps, and defeated Odovaker in the three battles on the Isonzo, Adige, and Adda, 489–90. A three-year siege starved Ravenna into submission. A peace was mediated by John, the Archbishop of Ravenna, on the basis of a division of power, and Theodoric entered the capital. Ten days after his surrender, Odovaker and his followers were slain by Theodoric and his Ostrogoths at a solemn banquet. Theodoric's residence was usually Ravenna, sometimes Pavia or Verona, hence his name "Dietrich of Bern" in the Nibelungen song. Anastasius, the successor of Zeno, recognized him as Patrician of Rome. The land confiscated by Odovaker was distributed among the Ostrogoths, who alone were allowed to bear arms.

120. Theodoric's Administration, 493–526. — Theodoric's legislation and administration were wise, moderate and peaceful. He ruled the Roman population according to the Roman law, and the Ostrogoths according to Gothic customs; causes in which both were parties were decided before mixed tribunals. Theodoric's court, like those of other German kings, had its chamberlain, its great captains, and its high-butler and steward. The king was surrounded

by his personal retinue of military retainers, who went on the king's errands, served him in bower and hall, and acted as his body-guard on the battlefield. Beside his Teutonic followers, he kept an establishment of Roman officials. Foremost among them were Cassiodorus, his Latin secretary and the historian of his reign, Boethius, who as philosopher, theologian, astronomer and mechanic represented the intellect of Italy, and his father-in-law Symmachus, both patricians and consuls. Though himself an Arian, he maintained friendly relations with the Holy See, and protected the Catholic population in their rights. Learning, agriculture, and commerce revived under his peaceful rule; fortifications were strengthened, and cities embellished; by his buildings at Ravenna he laid the foundation of Gothic architecture. The population increased, and a period of prosperity gave a respite to the harassed country. During the thirty-three years of his reign Italy was free from invasions, except occasional ravages of the Byzantines in Apulia.

121. Foreign Relations. — Chiefly by negotiations Theodoric extended or confirmed his power beyond the Alps from the Upper Rhine to the Lower Danube, and obtained Sicily as an independent dominion from Thrasamund, king of the Vandals. He exercised a great influence over the new Teutonic states, and formed domestic alliances with the kings of the Visigoths, Franks, Burgundians, Vandals and Thuringians. The Bavarians paid tribute, the Alamanni of Rhaetia and the Visigoths of Provence enjoyed his protection against the Franks. During the minority of Amalric, the last Balt, Theodoric was recognized by the Visigoths as their king, and for fourteen years united both halves of the Gothic race after a separation of 200 years. Thus his power reached from Sirmium to Cadiz, and from the Upper Danube to Sicily.

The measures of repression, which the Eastern Emperor Justin decreed against the Arians and other heretics, induced Theodoric to take reprisals in Italy. Boethius and Symmachus were thrown into prison and condemned to a cruel death. It was during this imprisonment that Boethius wrote his "Consolation of Philosophy," one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages. Pope St. John I. was imprisoned on his return to Ravenna from a visit to Constantinople, which he had undertaken at the desire of Theodoric. He died in chains. Theodoric himself was seized with remorse and melancholy and expired after a three days' sickness, 526.

122. General Effects of the Invasions — The Romans in their methods of colonization had been experts in introducing agriculture among the subdued nations, and widening their fortified camps into regular cities. The imperial city of Trier was a second Rome. The Roman Itineraries mention 116 cities in Germany alone. Britain numbered 38, some of them containing theatres, palaces and magnificent baths. The Saxon invasion passed like a wave of destruction over the whole island of Britain. The strongest buildings fell under the blows of the battering ram. In Gaul, Trier was sacked five times; Speyer, Mainz, Strasburg, Rheims, Soissons were smoldering ruins. Heaps of corpses and smoking farms marked the course of the invaders. Whole districts became deserted, inhabited only by wolves, bears and buffaloes. In Burgundy alone north of the Rhone, six districts became deserts. Still greater was the ruin in Italy under the successive irruptions of Alaric, Ratger, Attila and Genseric. But when the first fury had passed, agriculture was everywhere re-introduced and taught by the monks of the West. The invaders began to preserve and restore the ancient buildings. Theodoric the Great made special laws for this purpose for Rome and Italy, and entrusted their execution to Cassiodorus. The Frankish kings adopted the same policy. They inhabited the palace of Julian in Paris. Chilperich rebuilt the ruins of Soissons and restored even the theatres. The bishops of the barbarian period were powerful protectors and restorers of cities and churches. Respect for their superior culture, and veneration for the Saints whose relics reposed in their cathedrals, secured to them a strong influence over the minds of the invaders. The Anglo-Saxon kings and bishops dotted England with minsters and monasteries. We find the workmen among the Franks and the Saxons, employed in this work of restoration, beguiling their toil by singing psalms, and the spirit of piety and brotherhood thus displayed finally issued in the organization of the mediaeval gilds.

Hodgkin: *Invaders*, v. III, 4, ch. 6-13, etc.; *Theodoric the Goth, the Barbarian Champion of Civilization* (Heroes of Nations); *Cassiodorus Letters*, transl. by Hodgkin. — E. A. Freeman: *Chief Periods of Europ. Hist.:* Lect. 3.; *The Goths at Ravenna:* Hist. Essays, ch. 6-13. — Bradley: *Story of the Goths.* — H. F. Stewart; *Boethius.* — Oman: *Europe*, 476-918. — Duruy: *Hist. of the Middle Ages.* — Schnürer: *Die politische Stellung des Papstthums zur Zeit Theoderichs des Grossen:* H. P. B., v. 9, p. 251; v. 10, p. 253.

§ 4.

THE FIRST YEARS OF JUSTINIAN I. DESTRUCTION OF THE VANDAL KINGDOM.

123. The Eastern Empire. — Whilst nine successors of Valentinian III. ruled no longer than 21 years in the West (455–476), three Emperors ruled in Constantinople for 61 years: Leo I., the Thracian (457–74); Zeno, the Isaurian (474–491); and Anastasius I., the Illyrian (491–518). Their reigns were troubled from time to time by Persian raids on the Mesopotamian frontiers, by local revolts and military insurrections in the mountains of Asia Minor, especially in Isauria, and by the turbulence of the Ostrogoths, who

had settled in the Empire after the breaking up of the Hunnish power. Under Anastasius the Bulgarians, a Turanian tribe, founded homesteads on the northern banks of the Lower Danube, and occasionally raided the Empire. Against these new neighbors, Anastasius built his celebrated wall running from the Black Sea to the Propontis. In ecclesiastical matters the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius were detrimental to the true faith. Zeno, in a document called the Henoticon ("Formula of Concord"), favored the Monophysites, as the followers of Eutyches were called because they asserted that there was but one nature in Christ. Zeno's Henoticon severed the Church of Constantinople from the Roman centre of unity. The separation continued during the reign of his successor. In the reign of Anastasius, "the Blues and the Greens" came prominently to the front. They were originally rival factions in the circus races. They soon became political and religious parties. The Greens were Monophysites devoted to the family of Anastasius, the Blues were orthodox Catholics opposed to the Emperor. After the death of Anastasius Justinus, an excellent Illyrian general, was proclaimed Emperor by the body-guard and adopted his nephew Justinian as his colleague. Being a practical Catholic, Justin healed the schism between Rome and Constantinople by withdrawing the Henoticon. The cautious rule of these four Emperors left a full treasury, a strong, reorganized army, and an undiminished Empire to Justinian I.

124. Justinian's Accession; Persian War. — Shortly after Theodoric the Great had died in the gloom of his remorse, an Emperor ascended the throne at Constantinople, who was destined to destroy the work of Genseric and Theodoric the Great, and who aimed at reconquering the western provinces from the Teutonic settlers. Justinian was born of Moesian peasants, and was the nephew and right hand of his countryman, the unlettered, but just, mild, and prudent Justin I. At his accession he raised his newly-married wife Theodora, the daughter of a circus-feeder, to the dignity of Augusta; her strong mind exercised henceforth a powerful influence on his decisions.

His long reign, 527–565, was rich in great events and successes which, as he was without personal greatness, he owed to the eminent men in his service.

Justinian inherited a war with Persia from Justin. It was in this war of Justin and Justinian against Kobad I., that Belisarius, a young officer of Thrace, who became the most brilliant general and strategist of his time, gained in 528 his first victory at the Mesopotamian fortress of Daras, founded by Anastasius. Kobad soon after was followed by Chosroes I., Anushirwan, the Just, the most

distinguished of the Sassanids (531–79). As both Chosroes and Justinian desired peace, the former to consolidate his power at home, the latter to use his army in Africa, where a revolution had broken out among the Vandals (see No. 90), they concluded "eternal friendship and perpetual peace," 532.

125. The Nika, 532. — Before Justinian was able to turn his attention to Africa, he had to meet a sudden and most perilous danger in his capital. On account of the heavy taxes imposed by the Emperor to provide for the expenses of the Persian war, the "Greens and the Blues," reinforced by crowds of peasants who flocked into the city, rose against the tax-collectors. The execution of a few ringleaders on each side caused the factions to unite against the Emperor himself. They proclaimed a rival emperor (Hypatius), attacked the body-guard, fired churches and public buildings, and for five days terrorized the city. The courage of Theodora prevented the flight of Justinian, and the timely presence of Belisarius saved his throne. Belisarius stormed the circus and quelled the revolt in the blood of 30,000 insurgents. From the war cry of the parties (nika, conquer), the revolt is called the Nika. The awful massacre in the circus kept the city quiet for a whole generation.

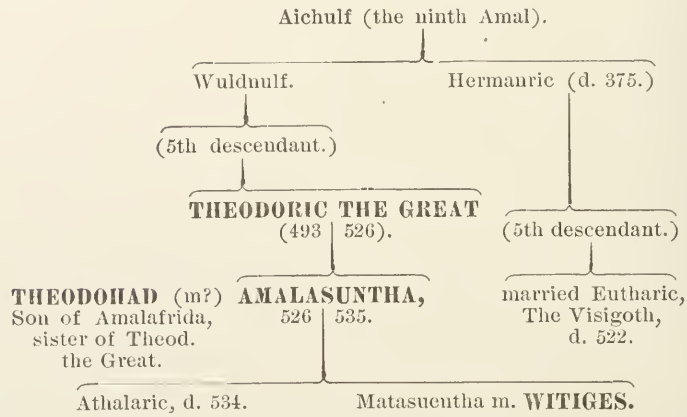
126. The African Campaign of Belisarius, 533-34. — Belisarius landed in 533 with a strong fleet and army 130 miles southeast of Carthage. Unopposed, keeping strict discipline, and paying for everything the army used, he marched slowly towards Carthage, accompanied by the fleet. Ten miles from Carthage, Gelimer made a stand and was decisively defeated in the battle Ad Decimum. Belisarius was received in Carthage like a deliverer. After some more fighting Gelimer surrendered in 534, and was taken with other captives to Constantinople, where he was kept in honorable captivity. Almost the whole Vandal race perished in the struggle. The islands of the Mediterranean were easily reduced by the officers of Belisarius. Africa became a province of the Eastern Empire under Byzantine laws and customs. The Vandal persecution had destroyed the prosperity of the Church of Africa. The subsequent conquest by the Mohammedan Arabs was to sweep it from the face of the continent.

Finlay: *Greece under the Romans.* — Rawlinson: *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy.* — Hodgkin: *Invaders*, III., 4, ch. 15. — Lord Mahon: *Life of Belisarius.* — Bury: *Later Roman Empire.* — Ch. Oman: *Europe*, 476-918 (from Leo I. to Justinian). — E. W. Brooks: *The Emperor Zeno and the Isaurians.* — J. Bryce: *The Life of Justinian by Theophilus:* E. H. R., v. 2, p. 657. — W. Humphrey: *Byzantinism*, M. '96, 2, 25 (18). — L. M, Hartmann: *Das ital. Koenigreich* (476–560).

§ 5.

THE TWENTY YEARS' WAR AND THE FALL OF THE OSTROGOTHIC KINGDOM IN ITALY, 535–555.

127. Amal Successors of Theodoric the Great.



128. Causes of the Twenty Years' War, 535–55.— Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theodoric the Great, was adorned with splendid gifts and rare intellectual endowments. She corresponded with Justinian, favored Roman learning and civilization, and educated her son Athalaric in the same line. This Romanizing tendency grievously offended the Gothic nobles. Athalaric was taken from his mother, thrown free from restraint into the company of young noble Goths, and died a victim of seduction and debauchery. In order to retain her power Amalasuntha associated with herself in the government the Amal Theodohad. Theodohad was mean enough to ally himself with the disaffected party against his benefactress. Amalasuntha was hurried away to an island of Lake Bolseno and murdered with Theodohad's consent, 535. Justinian at once declared war against Theodohad.

129. First Campaign, 535–40. — Belisarius arriving from Constantinople with a small army chiefly composed of barbarians, took Sicily, meeting with but little resistance, 535. Another Greek army conquered Illyricum. The following year he landed in

Italy and stormed Naples. The Goths now deposed and murdered Theodohad, a craven coward, and raised Witiges, a renowned warrior, on the shield. In December Belisarius took Rome which was hastily abandoned by the Gothic garrison.

Early in spring 537, Witiges approached with 150,000 men. Then followed for the space of a year one of the most memorable sieges known in history, in which Belisarius with his handful of soldiers put forth all the resources of his rich mind, and finally compelled Witiges to raise the siege. Two years of desultory fighting between Rome and Ravenna followed; most of the Gothic strongholds fell into the hands of the Byzantine generals. Milan was taken by the Romans and retaken by the Goths with great loss of life to the citizens. To add to the horrors of famine and disease, the Franks under Theudebert, who had been bribed first by Justinian and then by Witiges, swept down from the Alps a hundred thousand strong, falling indiscriminately on Goths and Romans, and ravaged northern Italy from Genoa to Venice.

Justinian, fearing the warlike preparations of Chosroes I., whom two embassies of Witiges had stirred up to a renewal of hostilities, offered peace to the Goths under easy terms. Belisarius, thinking the terms too liberal, refused to sign the document. Thereupon the Goths offered to recognize Belisarius himself either as their king or as emperor in the West. By simulating compliance with their desire Belisarius became master of Ravenna without a blow, 540. Belisarius then sailed to Constantinople, taking with him Witiges as captive and the Amal treasure hoard as booty. Witiges, like Gelimer, was made a patrician by Justinian.

130. Second Persian Campaign. — Belisarius now started for the East. He forced back the Persian armies not by any pitched battles, but by his masterly strategy and the terror of his name. In 542 he was assisted by a terrible ally, the great Persian plague. Intrigues at the court and charges of financial mismanagement compelled the general to return to Constantinople in disgrace. A truce of five years put a temporary stop to hostilities (545–550). After some more warfare, a definite peace was concluded (555), in which, among other things, liberty of worship was granted to the Christians of Persia, the commercial intercourse between the two Empires regulated, and arbitration agreed upon for the settlement of future disputes. Chosroes I., during the 40 years of his reign, promoted the internal prosperity of New Persia by financial reforms, and a rigid supervision of the viziers of the four provinces; he encouraged education by the establishment of elementary and higher schools, and agriculture by introducing artificial irrigation; he

maintained learned Greeks at his court, and had the most celebrated Greek and Indian authors translated into Persian. The Empire grew strong under him for a last powerful though fruitless attack on the Byzantine rival — soon after to go down before the scimitar of the Arabian conqueror.

131. Totila, 541–552. — After the departure of Belisarius the inhabitants of Italy both Romans and Goths were oppressed by the Byzantine tax-gatherers. The Goths rose, and raised Totila, their most valiant champion, the greatest of the successors of Theodoric, on the shield. Brave, high-minded, just, courteous, he was a forerunner of the mediaeval knights. With 5,000 men he defeated and scattered the Roman forces at Faenza, and routed another army in the Apennines. The fortresses, which it had taken Belisarius two years to win, fell in a few weeks. Central and southern Italy lay open before the conqueror. Passing by Rome, Totila overran southern Italy, and finally took Naples, 541–43.

132. **Belisarius in Italy, 544–49.** — Justinian grudgingly restored the command in Italy to Belisarius. Insufficiently supported, the general was unable to cope successfully with Totila. Rome after a siege and a fearful famine surrendered to Totila, who ordered the people to evacuate the city and partially destroyed its walls, and then marched south, 546. For six weeks Rome was without a single inhabitant. Belisarius then entered, repaired the breaches, and held Rome against three attacks of the mortified Totila. Outside of Rome he had little success. Starved out of money and men by the court of Constantinople, Belisarius was finally allowed to lay down his command. Totila once more became the lord of Rome and of all Italy save Ravenna.

133. Narses, 552–55. — Narses, the chamberlain of Justinian, a crafty courtier but a brave and energetic general, was now appointed commander-in-chief. With an army of Greeks, Lombards, Herulians and Huns he marched downwards on the Adriatic coast and routed the Goths in the decisive battle of Tagina. Totila fell on the field, 552. The Goths chose their last king Teias. Many Gothic fortresses surrendered. Rome was taken by Narses. The army of Teias cut its way through to the foot of Mount Vesuvius, where for two months it defied the whole Roman army. In the last pitched battle at Cumae Teias performed wonders of valor. In the moment of changing his last shield bristling with arrows he fell mortally wounded. The defeated Goths were allowed to leave Italy

with their movable property, 553. Attempts of allied German tribes, especially Franks, to change the fate of the war, failed; by 555 the Ostrogoths as a nation disappeared from history. Italy became under Narses an Exarchate of the Byzantine Empire governed by Byzantine laws.

134. **Conquests in Spain.** — It was during the war with the Ostrogoths, that Athanagild who ruled the Visigoths by usurpation, called the Byzantines to his assistance. (See No. 75.) Justinian eagerly grasped at the opportunity, and by the conquest of the southern coast-range greatly weakened the Visigoth kingdom. This conquest together with the possession of the great islands gave the Empire undisputed supremacy on sea.

135. **Last Campaign of Belisarius.** — The last campaign of the aged Belisarius was the defense of Constantinople against the invading Bulgarians and Slavs. The Bulgarians were a tribe of Finnish Turanians. They had come, in the reign of Emperor Anastasius, from the Wolga to the Danube. The Bulgarians allied themselves with the Slavs, who ravaged the Illyrian and Thracian provinces with impunity, while the generals of Justinian were conquering Italy. Not deterred by the eighty fortresses which Justinian had built along the northern frontiers, both nations overran the Empire, and broke through the wall of Anastasius. By a ruse of war, posting the small force at his disposal to the best advantage, and inviting an attack where his line was strongest, Belisarius threw the enemy back across the wall, whence they withdrew into northern Thrace, 559. In 562 the Bulgarians became tributaries of the Avars, another Turanian tribe, and accompanied them on their raiding expeditions. Belisarius died in 565.

Justinian earned his highest title to greatness by a work whose importance to the present day is universally recognized.

136. **Body of the Civil Law.** — The deficiencies of the codes of Roman Laws, published by Hadrian and Theodosius the Great, induced Justinian to publish a new collection under his own name. The work was accomplished by a number of jurists under the supervision of Tribonius. It contains a digest of the Roman imperial laws (the Justinian Code, Codex Justiniani); a manual of the same laws (the Institutes, Institutiones), interpretations and decisions handed down by celebrated lawyers (the Digest or Pandects, Pandectae or Digestae), to be supplemented by new laws (Novellae). In this legislation the Emperor is considered as the source of all laws and rights. Justinian abolished the Senate, and ruled as an absolute monarch.

137. **Church Policy.** — This absolute and arbitrary power of the Emperor made itself felt also in ecclesiastical affairs. Justinian personally interfered in purely dogmatical matters, published imperial decrees in matters of faith, held Pope Vigilius for six years as a prisoner in Constantinople, and greatly injured the Church by the arbitrary nature of his proceedings. State interference in purely religious matters as it had been practiced by his prede-

cessors became through him a system of policy at the Byzantine court which proved most disastrous to the freedom of the Church.

138. **Financial Administration.** — The financial administration of Justinian was unfortunate. The well-filled treasury left him by the four preceding Emperors was emptied before 540. Justinian was one of the greatest builders known to history. He raised from its ashes on a more magnificent scale the Cathedral of St. Sophia, and that part of Constantinople which had been burnt down in the Nika insurrection. The forts, churches, monasteries, hospitals, aqueducts, erected by him count by the hundreds. His wars and the moneys paid in the form of pensions to barbarian troops or in the form of tribute to barbarian tribes swallowed immense sums. Oppressive taxation was a matter of necessity. Public offices were sold or let to the highest bidders. The sale of breadstuffs and bread, and the silk industry, imported by monks from China, were made imperial monopolies. Communal funds were confiscated and even the administration of justice abused to supply money for imperial expenses. Thus the government of Justinian was burdensome to the people, especially to the farmers, his conquests merely transitory, his reign brilliant rather than great. He left at his death in 565 a depleted treasury, an humbled Church, and a disaffected people.

139. **The Successors of Justinian.** — By refusing to make the payments which Justinian had promised to the Persians and the Avars, his nephew, Justin II. (565–78), plunged the Empire into new wars with these nations which lasted through the next two reigns. His colleague and successor, Tiberius II. (578–82) remitted the arrears due to the treasury and cut down the existing taxes by one fourth. Maurice (582–602) made peace with Chosroes II., king of Persia. During his reign a great southward movement of Slavonic tribes, as yet little more than fighters, fishers and hunters, brought a new enemy into the Empire. Some of them were allied with the Avars, others were independent. They overran the Empire from the Balkans to the Peloponesus, plundering, burning and dragging captives into slavery. The refusal of Maurice — economical as he was even to parsimony — to ransom 12,000 Romans from the Avars who murdered them in consequence, caused his downfall. The army called Phocas, an ignorant ruffian from Thrace, to the throne. Phocas was the first military usurper in the Eastern Empire. He overthrew and beheaded Maurice. His reign (602–10) was a period of disastrous incapacity abroad and of unbridled cruelty and lust at home. Heraclius, the exarch of Africa, made an end to his rule by sending his son with a fleet to Constantinople. His own people handed Phocas over to the younger Heraclius, who sent the tyrant to the block.

Hodgkin: *Invaders; Imperial Restoration* (Twenty Years' War), Vol. V., Book 5, Ch. 1-24. — Lord Mahon: *Belisarius.* — Bradley: *Goths.* — Rawlinson: *Seventh Monarchy.* — Oman: *Europe 476-918* (from Justinian to Heraclius). — Finlay: *Greece.* — E. A. Freeman: *Chief Periods of European Hist.;* Lect. 4. — T. Hadley: *Introduction to Roman Law.* — J. E. Goldsmith: *The Pandects.* — Hartmann Grisar, S. J.: *Gesch. Roms.* — C. W. C. Oman: *The Byzantine Empire* (St. of N. S.) — Totila: see Montalembert: *Monk of the West*, Book 4.

§ 6.

THE KINGDOM OF THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY, 568–774.

140. Alboin, 568–72. — Narses became unpopular with the people of Italy, and was disgraced at the court of Justin II., and deposed as exarch. But the story of his having invited the Longobards, his former allies, to invade Italy, deserves little credit. Alboin, king of the Longobards, had just destroyed with the help of the Avars, the kingdom of the Gepids in Pannonia, and almost exterminated this Gothic tribe of the "Loiterers." Intending to invade Italy, he left his entire Pannonian territory in possession of the Avars. Henceforth this Turanian tribe, ranging over the whole line of the Danube from Vienna to its mouth, became a scourge to all the surrounding nations. The Longobardic nation, men, women and children with their slaves and herds, accompanied by 20,000 Saxons, crossing the most western Alps, marched into Italy. Owing to twenty years of war and disease, they found northern Italy almost deserted, and meeting with little opposition, began to spread and settle in the valley of the Po. Only cities like Verona, garrisoned with Roman troops, had to be conquered. Alboin chose Pavia, which he took after a three years' siege, for the royal residence. Two other capitals retained their own national influence, the Latin Rome, the residence of the Supreme Pontiff, and the Greek Ravenna, the seat of the exarch. The territory of the Exarchate was constantly lessened by the victorious advance of the Longobards, who raided the country to the very walls of Rome. The Longobards were partly heathen, a greater part Arians, but all very cruel. Not content, like the Herulians and Ostrogoths, with one third of the land, they simply slew the owners and appropriated their estates and slaves.

141. **Successors of Alboin.** — Alboin was assassinated at the instigation of his wife Rosamund, whom he had forced at a banquet to drink from the skull of her father, the last king of the Gepids slain by his hand. Under his successor Kleph, who was murdered eighteen months after his accession, the great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento were founded in central and southern Italy. The Lombard dukes always acted more independently than the minor chiefs of other Teutonic nations. Thus the loosely connected kingdom broke up, after the death of Kleph, into thirty-six independent dukedoms, until the anarchy of an interregnum of 10 years forced them again to choose

a king. The chosen king Authari, the son of Kleph, married Theodolinda, a pious Bavarian princess who had been brought up in the Catholic faith. The southern conquests were extended during his reign. The island city of Venice, Ravenna, the coast as far as Ancona, Rome and Naples, everywhere intersected with Lombard duchies, remained to the Empire as did the islands of the Mediterranean.

142. Conversion of the Lombards. — After the death of Authari the Lombards called upon his widow, in whose wisdom and virtue they implicitly believed, to choose a husband whom they promised to obey. Theodolinda gave her hand to Agilulf, duke of Turin (591–615) who was lifted on the shield, and baptized in due time. Like her contemporary, Queen Bertha of Kent, Theodolinda led under the auspices of Gregory the Great the majority of the Longobardic nation to the Catholic faith. Agilulf and Theodolinda built the famous Basilica of Monza, where the Iron Crown of Lombardy was preserved with few interruptions to the present time. This Iron Crown, containing one of the Holy Nails, a later tradition says, was sent to Theodolinda and Agilulf by Gregory the Great in recognition of their eminent services in the cause of religion. The complete suppression of Arianism was effected by a later king, Grimoald, duke of Benevento, who ascended the throne in 663.

143. General State of the Kingdom. — The Lombard kings were elective. During the 206 years which mark the duration of the independent kingdom of Lombardy, nine ducal houses mounted the royal throne. They never obtained a strong power over the aristocracy; the dukes of Spoleto, Benevento and Friuli were the real masters in the land. Unlike the Franks in Gaul, the Lombards were for a long time unable to gain a hold on the Latin population of Italy. Only when the Longobards as a nation had accepted the Catholic faith, they ceased to treat the Italians as a conquered people and became gradually open to the influence of Roman culture. While they succeeded in defending their possessions against foreign enemies, especially against the Franks in the North and the Greeks in the South, the kingdom was torn by the usual dissensions connected with crown-disputes, until Luitprand (713–740), with a strong hand imposed order on the kingdom, and raised it to the summit of its power.

Hodgkin: *Invaders; The Lombard Invasion*, vol. V., bk. 6. — T. W. Allies: *The Holy See and the Wandering of the Nations from St. Leo I. to St. Gregory I.* — Church: *Beginning of M. A.* — Sheppard: *Fall of Rome. — On the Iron Crown of Lombardy*, see H. P. B., v. 122, pp. 617, 715. — Snow: *St. Gregory the Great.* — Bury: *The Roman Empire in 600 A. D. (to Exarchate)*, E. H. R., v. 9, p. 315. — *On Byzantine Empire in Italy:* Reumont: *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.*, vol. 2. — Grisar: *Rom.*

§ 7.

CATHOLIC IRELAND AND THE NEW TEUTONIC KINGDOMS.

144. Ancient History. — The only country in western Europe which was spared a Teutonic invasion in the present period as it had escaped a Roman invasion in the preceding, was ancient Erin or Ireland. According to its chronicles, largely of a legendary character, the first inhabitants of Ireland of whom traces are left, were the Formorians, probably Turanians. They were conquered by the Firbolgs, a Belgic colony, possibly the first Celts in Ireland. They in their turn had to submit to the Danaans, believed to have been of Scandinavian origin, perhaps ancestors of the Norsemen. These were subjected by a later purely Celtic race who seem to have come from Spain, the Milesians or Scoti, who gave their name to the island. For Scotia, for several centuries, signified Ireland, and its inhabitants were called Scoti, whilst the proper name of Scotland was Caledonia. The real history of Ireland begins with the time of St. Patrick.

145. **Righs and Ardrigh. Tanistry.** — The government of Ireland was patriarchal and tribal. Every head of the family ruled its own household, and submitted in his turn to the rule of his chief. The sept or clan was a union founded on blood relationship, a union of families having a common ancestor. The many tribes, each counting from 500 to 1000 fighting men, acknowledged the sovereignty of one of the five royal families, called the Five Bloods of Ireland. The five families of kings or righs were the O'Conors in Connaught, the O'Neills in Ulster, the McLaughlins in Meath, the O'Briens in Munster, and the McMurroughs in Leinster. These five monarchs in the five provinces selected their ardrigh or overking, who dwelt in Tara. The rights of the chiefs were purely personal. An election by the clan designated during the lifetime of the chief his successor, the Tanist, who might be a son, brother, uncle, or first cousin of the ruling chief. The object was to exclude minors or unfit persons from the succession.

146. **Gavalkind.** — The land belonging to the clan was held in common and distributed by the Brehons in equal shares. At the death of each joint owner a re-distribution was necessary. Practically the most important right in this joint possession of land was the free right of pasturage over the whole. The frequent re-parcelling of the land, however, prevented many improvements connected with fixed ownership or hereditary tenure. Tanistry and gavalkind were the causes of frequent local and tribal wars.

147. **Brehons.** — The laws were drawn up and administered by judges, called Brehons, whose decision was appealed to in all matters of dispute. But the king was bound to pronounce judgment in all cases of difficulty which were referred to him. The fines, by which compensation was rendered for any offense, were most minutely determined by the Brehons, who had to graduate in law-colleges, before they were set as judges over the people in their respective sept or tribe. The religion of the ancient Irish was Druidism, but without the abhorrent and numerous human sacrifices of the Gallic Druidism. Still there are traces of child-immolation in Irish records. The druids, like the brehons and the bards or poets, ranked next to the king.

148. St. Patrick and the Conversion of Ireland. — The conversion of Ireland was due under God to the action of the Holy See. Pope St. Celestine I. (422–32) sent St. Palladius as the first bishop to Ireland. He was not kindly received by the people, and after building a few churches left the island only to die soon after among the Picts of Caledonia. St. Patrick or Patritius was probably born and certainly brought up at Bonaven Taberniae (Bologne sur Mer in Brittany?). He was captured at the age of sixteen and sold as a slave to an Irish chief. The six years spent in Ireland made him fully acquainted with the language and the customs of the natives and filled him with a burning desire to convert the Irish race. After finishing his studies in the monastic institutions of Marmoutier and Lerins he went to Rome in 431, received his canonical mission to preach the gospel in Ireland from Coelestine I., and returned to the Green Isle as a bishop. With nine companions St. Patrick landed in the Bay of Dublin. Refused admittance he sailed thence, entered the Boyne, and proceeded to Tara in Meath, the residence of the Irish overking. Here, opposed by the druids but supported by the bards, he converted Leaghaire the overking and a vast number of his subjects. He continued his apostolic work at the national games at Talten, destroyed the idol Cromcruach (Moloch? the Sun?) on the field of Leithrim, and baptized a king and 12,000 of his people at a national convention near Toclat. In Connaught he spent eight years. Bards and chiefs eagerly embraced the faith ; whole clans were baptized at a time. Passing over to Ulster, he founded the Archbishopric of Armagh. Everywhere rose churches, monasteries and convents and schools, mostly of humble materials, but not the less centres of civilization for Ireland, and nurseries of missionaries

for the newly established Teutonic kingdoms. St. Patrick gave to the Church in Ireland a monastic constitution, monks being appointed to bishopries. The conversion of Ireland was completed during the lifetime of St. Patrick, not indeed without temporary and local reactions in favor of heathenism, but without persecution and bloodshed. St. Patrick died probably in 493. The warlike and impressionable people of Erin manifested towards him an impassioned veneration which thirteen centuries have not lessened.

149. St Patrick's Work. — St. Patrick's success is due in part to his eminent prudence in dealing with Irish customs. He confirmed in the law of the Brehons whatever did not clash with Holy Writ, the laws of the Church or the consciences of the believers. According to the monastic constitution which he gave to the Church in Ireland, the bishops adapted themselves to the civil division of society and exercised their episcopal functions in their clans. The Irish monasteries, whether extensive establishments, or groups of separated cells, were clans or septs reorganized on a religious footing. The monks or culdees (cultores Dei) obeyed abbots, who were usually of chieftain blood. On the other hand, St. Patrick placed the Church in Ireland into the closest connection with and submission to the Holy See. The Canon of St. Patrick copied in the Book of Armagh from the Apostle's own handwriting, says: "Whenever any cause that is very difficult shall arise, it is rightly to be referred to the See of the Archbishop of the Irish, and to the examination of the prelates thereof. But if there, by him and his wise men, a cause of this nature cannot easily be made up, we have decreed it shall be sent to the See Apostolic, that is to say, to the chair of the Apostle Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome." This submission of Ireland to the Holy See is shown by the writings of the oldest Irish authors, the liturgy of the Irish Church and the collection of canons made in 700. Many bishops of Ireland were educated and consecrated in Rome. Heads of Irish monasteries went to the Holy See to obtain a confirmation of their rules. Irish missionaries going forth to preach the gospel among German nations went to Rome to have their missions approved. The stream of pilgrimage from Ireland to Rome was so constant that hospices for Irish pilgrims existed in the principal cities of Gaul, Germany and Italy, at Paris, Koeln, Ratisbon, Vienna, in the mountains of Vorarlberg (Victorsberg), etc.

150. The Conversion of Scotland. — Prominent among the founders of monasteries were St. Finnian with his 3,000 monks at Clonard, his disciple St. Comgall with his 3,000 monks at Bangor (not to be confounded with Bangor on the British coast, see No. 97), and likewise his disciple, the royal Columba or Columbkill, the apostle of Scotland.

St. Columba emigrated with twelve companions to Scotland and

founded the island monastery of Iona, one of the most renowned centres of civilization in the British island. Thirty-four years he labored among the Picts and Scots, destroyed the last remnants of Celtic heathenism, and covered the country and highlands with churches and monasteries. On the "Stone of Destiny" still used in the coronation of English rulers, he anointed Aidan of the House of Fergus, king of the British Scots; the first ecclesiastical coronation recorded in the history of western Europe, and the historical beginning of Scotch royalty. Aidan soon made himself master of the Picts and Dalradians; the latter were Irish immigrants, who in 503, had founded in Scotland a kingdom tributary to the Irish over-king. Aidan and St. Columba, by a visit to Ireland, succeeded in making Dalradia independent of Ireland. The direct descendants of king Aidan reigned till 689.

151. **St. Columban.** — St. Columbanus of Bangor with twelve other monks crossed over to Brittany in 543, became a civilizer of Burgundy and Austrasia, and founded the celebrated monastery of Luxeuil, at the foot of the Vosges mountains, on the confines of Austrasia and Burgundy. From this mother house a great number of abbeys were founded and peopled with Frankish and Burgundian nobles, freemen and serfs, who merged their social differences in the unity of religious profession. Persecuted by the Frankish queen Brunhilda St. Columban went with his disciple St. Gall to the Alamanni who dwelled around the Lake of Constance. Here the missionaries parted. The disciple remained to found the monastery of St. Gall, for centuries the greatest seat of learning in southern Germany. At his death almost the whole nation of the Alamanni had been converted to the Catholic faith. Columbanus crossed the Alps into Lombardy. He met with a cordial reception from Agilulf, the Lombard king and his queen Theodolinda. Agilulf gave him a tract of land called Bobbio in the Apennines. Here his indefatigible zeal found ample scope in the conversion of the Arian Longobards, and Bobbio became the stronghold of faith in northern Italy.

152. **Irish Travels** — The Irish were the first preachers of the gospel in Germany. In coracles or rude boats of wicker-work covered with tanned hides they crossed the sea, and pushed up the Rhine and Scheldt. St. Fridolin planted himself in the Rhine island of Seckingen at the foot of the Black Forest; the two Irish brothers Foilan and Ultan preached on the Meuse. Sts. Kilian (Kyllena), Colman and Totnan made Würzburg, the capital of the eastern Franks, the centre of their apostolic labors. Irish missionaries founded churches in Switzerland, Bavaria, Thuringia and Salzburg. Hospices built for Irish pilgrims indicate their presence in Hungary. Others found their way to Belgium, to Norway, to the Shetland Islands, to

Iceland, everywhere to become apostles or martyrs. It is probable, that Irish monks reached even the coast of North America, before the Northmen of Greenland discovered Vinland.

The extraordinary number of monastic institutions in Ireland not only fostered these splendid missionary enterprises, but offered asylums of learning to half a continent. From England, from Gaul, from Germany, the students came, enjoyed free of cost the splendid hospitality of the monasteries, and received in these schools their classical learning, their knowledge of Greek literature of which Irish scholars were passionately fond, and their philosophical and theological training. "Neither was this period by any means a short one, it was a steady flame which burned undimmed during the seventh, eight and part of the ninth centuries."

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CHAPTER III.

THE ISLAM.

§ 1.

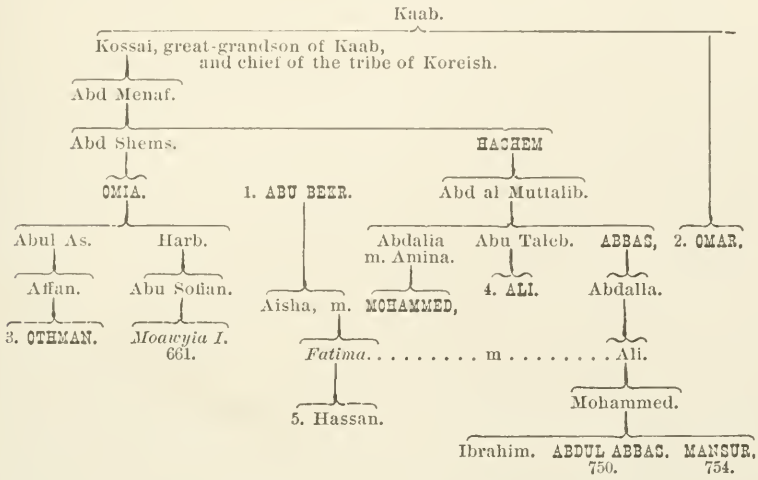
THE ARABIANS.

153. Character of the Arabians. — The Arabians or Saracens belong to the Semitic family of nations; a portion of the Arabs trace their descent to Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar. Excepting the frontier Arabs who had been at different times vassals of the Romans or Persians, the Saracens had remained practically independent of foreigners and of one another. They were brave, hospitable, faithful to promises and kindred, but predatory in their habits, passionate and revengeful, dissolute, and given to the horrid practice of female infanticide.

154. Bedouins and City Dwellers. — The inhabitants were (a) Bedouins, wandering or herding in families under Sheiks, or in clans under Emirs, but enjoying unrestrained personal liberty. (b) City dwellers, who lived by agriculture, manufacture, but chiefly commerce. The two principal cities were Mecca and Yatreb, both enjoying an aristocratic form of government. Mecca, situated on the high road of commerce between India and Africa, was the commercial and religious center but not the political capital of Arabia.

155. Religion. — The religion of the country before the time of Mohammed was Sabianism, the adoration of the host of heaven or star-worship. In course of time they assumed many new superstitions and idols. The Kaaba, the national sanctuary of the Arabs at Mecca, contained, besides its 360 idols, a black stone, an object of highest veneration. According to their traditions it had fallen from heaven a brilliant hyacinth, but had been blackened by the kisses of sinful men. The Kaaba was in charge of the family of Hashem, of the tribe of Koreish. Between this family and the Omiads, another family of the same tribe, existed an hereditary feud.

156. **The Earlier Hashemites and Omiads.** — The following table represents the descent of Mohammed, the relationship of the two rival families of Hashem and Omia, and of the Patriarchal Caliphs: —



157. **Earlier Life of Mohammed.** — Mohammed, of the family of Hashem, was born at Mecca, about 571. After the early death of his parents he was brought up by his uncle Abu Taleb. In his travels as a merchant he was eager to increase his knowledge of religion and national traditions. His religious ideas, orally obtained from Christians and Jews, were fragmentary, disconnected and distorted by his vivid imagination, but he learned enough to despise idolatry and to believe in one God. At the age of twenty-five he became the commercial agent of Khadija, a rich widow, whom he married. Mohammed used to retire with his wife several months every year to a cave of Mount Haran, a few miles north of Mecca, to devote himself to religious meditations, which grew into dreams and trances, accompanied, perhaps, by epileptic convulsions. So far he was perhaps more of a visionary than an impostor. He claimed to be the prophet predicted by Moses and the Paraclete promised by Christ to restore the religion of Abraham.

His first converts were his wife Khadija, and his servant Zeyd, followed by his cousin, friend and protector Abu Bekr (later his father-in-law), Ali, Omar, Othman. (See genealogy.) After the death of Khadija Mohammed disgraced the rest of his career by the excesses of polygamy.

158. **The Hegira or Hedjra.** — The men of the tribe of Koreish organized a conspiracy to murder Mohammed. The "Prophet"

fled with Abu Bekr from Mecca to Yatreb, which was henceforth called Medina, *i. e.*, the city (of the prophet), where he had a party of seventy sworn to defend him. The flight from Mecca, the Hegira or Hedjra was effected July 16 (?) 622 and marks the first year of the Mohammedan chronology.

159. Conquest of Mecca and Arabia. — At Medina his character greatly changed for the worse. If he was heretofore a victim of illusions, he now became a conscious and unscrupulous impostor. For every new deed of cruelty or perfidy he had a revelation, frequently of a nature to give the lie to a former revelation. He gathered a small army, preached the "Holy War" against the tribe of Koreish and all unbelievers. He attacked their caravans, and gained a number of small battles. Opponents at Medina and elsewhere were removed by assassination. The Jews were persecuted, exiled, and slaughtered. When he felt himself strong enough, he marched upon Mecca at the head of 10,000 followers, was joined by his uncle Abbas, and took Mecca by surprise, about 630. Having destroyed the idols of the Kaaba, he changed this sanctuary of his nation into the sanctuary of Islam. The army was increased and the conquest of Arabia completed. Mohammed sent embassadors to the king of Abyssinia, to Chosroes II. of New Persia, and to Emperor Heraclius, inviting them to embrace Islam. The prophet died at Medina, 632.

160. **The Islam.**— The "Islam," is the religion of the "Moslem" or believers. According to its creed there is one God, Allah, without distinction of persons, and Mohammed is his prophet. Moses and Christ are prophets of inferior rank. Everything that happens, happens by necessity (Fatalism). The Moslem believe in the existence of angels, predestination, the resurrection of the body, and a paradise of gross sensual pleasure for the believers. Their moral code prescribes prayers five times a day, fasts, ablutions, pilgrimages to Mecca and alms. Mohammed connived at the Arabian fetich-worship of the Black Stone. But the highest duty of the Moslem is to fight, slay or despoil all infidels or non-Mohammedans (Holy War). Their law forbids wine, pork and games of hazard, but permits a plurality of wives (polygamy), the number being limited by law for the rest, unlimited for the prophet. Their religious, moral and civil code is the Koran. The parts were originally written by Mohammed on separate leaves, bones, pieces of parch-

ment and stones. They were collected without order and connection by Abu Bekr, the first Caliph, in 114 chapters or Suras. As the needs and humors of the prophet were different at different times, the revelations varied accordingly, and gave rise to numerous contradictions in the Koran, and numerous sects in Islam.

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§ 2.

HERACLIUS AND CHOSROES II.

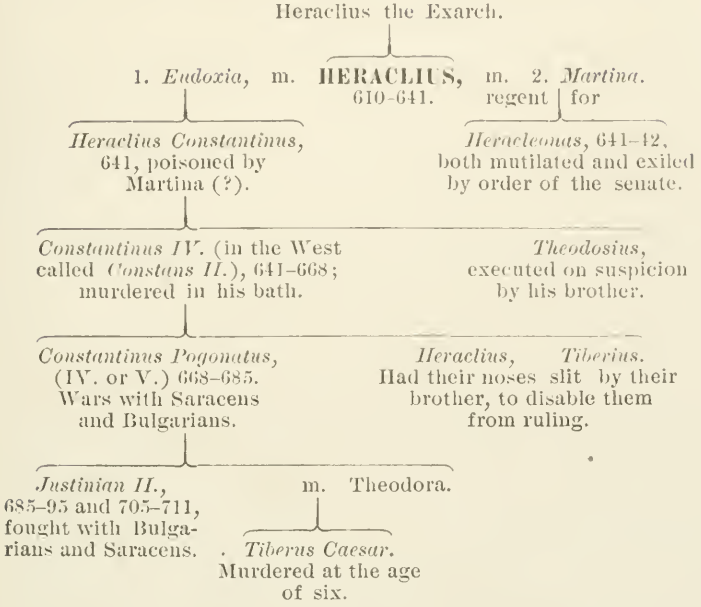
161. The Victories of Chosroes II. — The last and most terrible of the many wars, which had been waged between the Roman and the New Persian Empires, was contemporary with the preaching of Mohammed. While the tyrant Phocas reigned at Constantinople, Chosroes II. (591–628), assisted by the Jews, invaded and conquered the Asiatic provinces of the Eastern Empire. When Heraclius, the son of the African exarch, had executed Phocas, senate and army proclaimed him Emperor, 610–641. The prospects of the new Emperor were gloomy indeed. The Avars threatened the Empire from the North. His generals in Asia were unfortunate. The Persians stormed Jerusalem, 615, destroyed the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and conveyed the true Cross of Christ to Persia; 90,000 Christians died at the hands of the Jews, and 35,000 were dragged to Persia. Chosroes II. then conquered Egypt and part of northern Africa, while another Persian army arrived at Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople (617), and menaced the capital for ten years. Chosroes sent Heraclius a letter full of insolent blasphemy against God and Jesus Christ.

162. Victorious Campaign of Heraclius, 622–27. — Heraclius was on the point of fleeing to Carthage, when Sergius the

Patriarch of Constantinople, and the religious enthusiasm of the people, roused his courage to the highest pitch. The clergy offered him the treasures of the Church. The army filled with volunteers eager to re-conquer the Cross of Christ. Heraclius himself did what no Emperor since Theodosius the Great had done, he assumed the personal command of the army in the field. In six expeditions, 622–627, he advanced from victory to victory. He first conquered Asia Minor (622). Then falling on Media, and subduing lands which no Roman had ever seen before, he forced the enemy to withdraw his troops from Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia (623–24). He next turned to the region of the upper Tigris and once more defeated the Persian armies (625). Whilst holding the upper valley of the Tigris he turned his auxiliaries loose on Media and Assyria; 627 was the decisive year. The last Persian army faced him at Nineveh. It was all but annihilated. Heraclius slew the Persian chief with his own hands. The conqueror now stood before Ctesiphon, the capital of New Persia. Chosroes fled. Twenty-two satraps fell off and raised Seroes to the throne. Chosroes was captured by his own subjects, saw eighteen of his sons murdered before his eyes, and died of hunger and ill-treatment (628). Seroes made peace with Heraclius. All the conquests, all the prisoners, 300 standards, and the true Cross of Christ were returned to the victor. The Patriarch Sergius and the Patrician Bonus had meanwhile saved Constantinople from a new danger, an army of besieging Avars. In 628 Heraclius triumphantly returned to his capital and replaced the Cross in Jerusalem the following year.

163. **Later Reign.** — Heraclius in his after-reign disgraced his former record by supporting one of the ever-reviving heresies of the East instead of defending the Empire against the Moslem. The provinces just conquered from the Persians were seized by the Saracens. The Bulgarians, separating from the Avars in Pannonia, founded on the Lower Danube an independent kingdom under their Chakan Cuvrat, and their restless and predatory habits continued to give trouble to the Empire. His mind darkened and his courage broken by many misfortunes, Heraclius died 641. His family reigned till 711. Successive Emperors were hurled from the throne, deprived of sight or speech, mutilated or poisoned, sometimes through the intrigues of ambitious consorts, sometimes by their own brothers, or by successful generals of the army.

164. House and Successors of Heraclius.



Constantine IV. waged war with the Moslem at sea, with the Slavs in the Balkans, with the Longobards in Italy, and with the Arabs in Carthage. He belongs to the usual type of Byzantine tyrants. As a Monothelite he published a heretical decree ("the Type"). The Monothelitic heresy asserted one will and operation in Christ instead of two. When Pope St. Martin I. condemned the edict, the Emperor ordered the exarch of Ravenna to seize the person of the Holy Father and send him to Constantinople. There the Pope was tried, thrown into chains and banished to the Crimea, where he died a martyr of the faith (655). In the African war his exactions were such as had never been heard of before; he robbed the churches of their sacred vessels and sold into slavery those who refused to pay. Justinian II. far outdid his grandfather in bloodthirsty cruelty. Most of his generals were imprisoned or beheaded. To escape a similar fate, Leontius surprised the Emperor in his palace, slit his nose and sent him to Cherson in the Crimea. The generals of Leontius lost Carthage to the Empire, 698. To forestall punishment at home, they caught Leontius, slit his nose, confined him in a monastery and proclaimed a new usurper, Tiberius. Justinian meanwhile escaped, fled to the Turanian Chazars dwelling on the Volga, married the Chakan's sister and found his way back to Constantinople. With the aid of

his own party he sent the two usurpers to the block and began a reign of terror, having his enemies bound to spits and roasted, sewed into sacks and thrown into the Bosphorus or tortured and put to death in other forms of reckless cruelty until Philippicus, a general of the army, seized and beheaded him, 711. From 711 three insignificant rulers (Philipicus, Artemius Anastasius and Theodosius III.) held a nominal sway amid complete anarchy, until Leo the Isaurian mounted the throne of the Caesars.

For consultation see the authorities on the Later Roman and New-Persian Empires quoted under Chapter II., §§ 4 and 5. *On the Avars* see Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, Lect. 4. — *Bulgarians and Slavs:* E. A. Freeman: *The Ottoman Power in Europe*, ch. 2; *Historical Geography of Europe*, ch. 5. — R. G. Latham: *The Nationalities of Europe.* — E. de Laveleye: *The Balkan Peninsula, ch. 3.* — Finlay: *Greece under the Romans.*

§ 3.

CALIPHATES AND CONQUESTS.

165. Patriarchal Caliphate, Abu Bekr. — Abu Bekr was, under the influence of Omar, chosen Caliph or successor of the prophet by the Moslem assembled in the mosque at Medina. The position of the Caliph was that of absolute lord of the Moslem in the spiritual and temporal order; he was the source of all power and jurisdiction. While Abu Bekr led a simple and unpretentious life at home, his general Khaled began the holy war against New-Persia and the Eastern Empire. After defeating an army of Persians, Khaled went to Syria, defeated 80,000 Byzantines on the river Yermouk, and secured the conquest of Syria by the capture of Damascus and other Syrian towns, 632–34.

166. Omar, 634–44. — Omar obtained the Caliphate by bequest from Abu Bekr. Simple and stern in his private life, cool-headed and brave, he became the most powerful of the Patriarchal Caliphs. The unruly tribes of Arabia were organized into a well-knit state. The Christians and Jews were banished from Arabia. The generals whom he sent out to conquer the world had to propose to the nations whom they attacked, as alternatives Koran, Tribute, or Sword. Everywhere the Moslem were to be distinguished by their dress from the unbelievers.

167. The Conquest of Syria. — In the six years of the Syrian war the chief cities were either stormed or surrendered. Jerusalem

fell into the hands of Amru, the new general of the Saracens. Omar came personally to receive the capitulation. He left the Christians in possession of their churches, and promised them free exercise of their religion though under humiliating conditions, 638. Syria remained a Saracen province for more than three hundred years.

168. Destruction of the Persian Empire. — The new king in Persia, Yezdijerd made in the meanwhile powerful preparations towards driving the Arabs from Persia, but his army was almost annihilated in the battle of Kadesia. Madain was taken in 636, and immense treasures distributed among the soldiers and sent to the treasury of Medina. The last and decisive battle in the conquest of Persia, "the victory of victories" was gained by Abdalla, the son of Omar, at Nehavend, 642. The fugitive Yezdijerd, the last Sassanid, some years later, perished by treason. Thus ended the New-Persian Empire 415 years after its foundation.

169. Conquest of Egypt. — In 640 Amru began the conquest of Egypt, which he accomplished with great facility and dispatch. Alexandria alone had to be taken twice from the Romans, whose fleet gave them access from the sea-side, before it passed into the undisputed possession of the Arabs. Amru pitched his tent on the spot on which in later times the city of Cairo rose. Egypt became the granary of Arabia. To facilitate communication the ancient canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea was again made navigable.

Omar was mortally wounded in a personal quarrel by a Christian of Kufa. Before his death he committed the choice of a successor to a conclave of six companions of the prophet. With Omar passed away the period of internal harmony.

170. Othman, 644–655. — The tumultuous conference of the commissioners appointed by Omar resulted in the rejection of the Hashemite Ali and the election of the Omiad Othman. (See genealogy.) The Saracen conquests were pushed forward towards the Indus and Oxus, the Black and Caspian Seas. The northern coast of Africa was invaded by Abdallah, the successor of Amru;

Moawiya, governor of Syria, conquered Cyprus and Rhodes, and defeated a fleet of the Emperor Constantine IV.

Othman began to assume a more royal state, and gave preference to members of his own family, who had longest continued in their opposition to the prophet. He gave great scandal by burning all the existing copies of the Koran of Abu Bekr and replacing it by his own version. For these reasons his Caliphate became undermined by secret conspiracies, which broke out into open rebellion. Othman was besieged and slain in his own house.

171. Ali, 655–61. — Ali was now proclaimed Caliph and accepted by both parties. But this harmony was of short duration. Moawiya, the crafty Omiad, a member of that branch of the tribe of Koreish, which had most bitterly opposed the prophet, was governor in Syria. He gave himself out as the avenger of the Omiad Othman, and represented Ali as his murderer, although Ali's sons had fought in Othman's defense. Moawiya restored the governership of Egypt to Amru, and both declared against Ali, who had removed the headquarters of the Caliphate to Kufa. A fierce internal war broke out. Ali defeated with his 90,000 men the 80,000 of Moawiya and Amru on the Euphrates, but lost the fruit of his victory, being outwitted in the arbitration which Moawiya had craftily proposed; 12,000 of his followers, called the Karijites (rebels against the Imam or spiritual head) accused him of cowardice and separated from him. The war went on; offers of peace and a division of the Caliphate were rejected by the enemies of Ali, when three Karijites resolved to rid Islam of the three rivals. Ali died by the dagger of the assassin, Moawiya was slightly wounded, and Amru escaped unhurt.

Hassan, the eldest son of Ali, was compelled to resign his claims into the hands of Moawiya. Thus passed away the period of the Patriarchal Caliphate in 661.

172. Omiad Caliphate; Moawiya I., 661-80. — Moawiya I., now universally acknowledged as Caliph, transferred the seat of government to Damascus, abolished the election of Caliphs, and made the dignity hereditary in his family. The court of the Omiads at Damascus became a place of great luxury and dissipation. The dynasty numbered fourteen Caliphs.

Moawiya's generals advanced westwards as far as the Atlantic without, however, accomplishing a permanent occupation, while others advanced to

the Indus. The annual sieges of Constantinople between 670 and 678 were repulsed by means of the Greek fire. The peace concluded at length with Constantinople left the Caliphate under tribute to the Empire.

173 Sunnites and Shiahs. — The Omiad revolution forever separated the two great divisions of the Islam, the Sunnites or Traditionists, who, besides the Koran, admit oral traditions, and acknowledge the first four Caliphs as the legitimate successors of the prophet, and the Shiahs who deem Ali the first Imam, or spiritual successor of Mohammed. As the asserters of the rights of Ali and his house they are also called Aliites, and from the fact that Ali was married to Mohammed's daughter Fatima, Fatimites. They count twelve Imams, the last of whom Mohammed el Mehdi (d. 879) they suppose still living, ready to appear as the Mahdi or Savior, who is to reunite Islam. (He appeared with his claims in the 19th century in the Soudan, see vol. 3, p. 413, No. 594.) At present, broadly speaking, the Persians are Shiahs, the Turks Sunnites.

174. Conquest of Africa. — It took sixty years from the first invasion under Othman to effect the complete conquest of northern Africa. Raiding armies several times reached the Atlantic, without, however, obtaining permanent possession. Carthage was subdued, 698. Musa, the general of Walid I., extended the Arab power to the Atlantic, undertook naval expeditions to Sicily and Corsica, gained the natives of Africa for Islam, and introduced Mohammedan law and order. His march of victory in northern Africa was stopped before Ceuta situated on a promontory facing the rock of Gibraltar. Ceuta was defended by a Visigothic garrison under count Julian.

175. State of the Visigothic Kingdom. — The frequent disputes about the royal succession after the reign of Sisibut gradually weakened the power of the kingdom. The national Synods had repeatedly to chastise both kings and nobles for tyrannical excesses or rebellious turbulence. In king Wamba, 672–680, there appeared once more a noble and energetic ruler. Being deprived of his throne by Erwig, an ambitious relative, he retired to a monastery. With him ended the greatness of the Goths. The succeeding kings, Erwig, Egica, Witiza and Roderic (680–711), can bear no comparison with him. They belong to the period of dissolution which began with the dethronement of Wamba. In this same period a numerous population of Jews, who outwardly conformed to Christianity, conspired with the Jews of Africa to aid the Saracens as an oriental and circumcised people against the Visigoths. At the very time when the Saracens approached, the Visigothic throne was disgraced by the immoral Witiza. A great number of nobles rejected him and elected Roderic king, 709. The civil war which did not end with the death of Witiza in 710, gave the Visigoths into the hands of the Infidel.

176. Battle of Guadalete or Xeres de la Frontera, 711. — Count Julian, the defender of Ceuta, belonged to the party of Witiza's sons. Besides he had a personal grievance against Roderic who had sinned against the count's family. When the Arabs stood before Ceuta, he apostatized, made common cause with Musa, delivered him the African stronghold and invited him to enter Spain. Musa sent over his lieutenant Tarik, accompanied by "Julian the Apostate." They effected a landing at the rock Calpe, since called Gebel Tarik (corrupted into Gibraltar). The decisive battle was fought on the river Guadalete near Xeres de la Frontera, and lasted from Sunday, July 18, to Sunday, July 25. For a time the far greater number of the Visigoths prevailed. But Roderic had entrusted the two wings of the army to the sons of Witiza. They offered their aid to Tarik. This treason decided the fate of the battle. Roderic fell on the field or disappeared in the river. A hopeless panic seized the Christian army and with the last day of the battle ended the army, the kingdom and the nation of the Visigoths.

177. Conquest of Spain. — Musa, jealous of the success of Tarik, came over to Spain with another army, and both conquered almost the entire peninsula (711–13). The remnants of the armed Visigoths were driven into the mountains of the Asturias. Those who could not flee were reduced to complete subjection under Moslem rule. The remnants of the conquered race began in due time a series of unremitting attacks upon the Mohammedans which lasted 800 years, until full success crowned the heroic warfare. The Saracens, soon after the conquest of Spain, began to invade Frankish Gaul, but were completely checked by the united power of the Franks in 732. (See No. 187)

178. Eastern Conquests. — At the very time, when the armies of Walid were conquering in the extreme West under Musa and Tarik, other generals of the Caliph conquered the Turkish territories between the Oxus and Yaxartes, and joined the Indian province of Sind to the Caliphate, where it remained till the fall of the Omiads. Thus the Caliphate reached its widest extent under Walid I.

179. Suleiman's Fleet Defeated. — On the other hand renewed attacks upon Constantinople by the fleet of Caliph Suleiman were beaten back by Leo

the Isaurian (716–41), inflicting such utter defeat, that no Saracen army ever again appeared before Constantinople (718). Yet the same Emperor became the first Iconoclast or Image-breaker, prohibiting by an imperial edict the Catholic veneration of images to please the Jews and the very Moslem whom he had defeated.

180. Overthrow of the Omiads, 750. Abbassid Caliphate. The last Omiads had to keep up a running warfare against insurrections incited by the Abbassids, the Hashemite descendants of Abbas (Cf. genealogy, No. 156). When Merwan II., the last Caliph of the Omiad line, ordered the execution of Ibrahim, the head of the Abbassids, Ibrahim's brothers Abul Abbas and Mansur collected an army under the black flag of their party, whose battle-cry was "the Family of the Prophet." The insurgents defeated Merwan on the river Zab, 750. Ninety Omiad princes were whipped to death in the banquet hall of the victors; 600,000 adherents of the Omiads are said to have been massacred to secure the power of the new dynasty. The Abbassids adopted the Sunnite creed, and moved the seat of government still further east, by building (under Mansur, 754–75) the new capital Bagdad on the Tigris.

181. Omiad Caliphate of Cordova. — Abderrhaman, an Omiad prince of twenty years of age, escaped the fate of his family. He fled to Africa, whence he was invited by a party representing the majority of the Moslem in Spain opposed to the Abbassids, to found a new and independent Caliphate. Abderrhaman landed in Spain, 755, overcame the opposing minority, and chose Cordova for his residence. The Caliphate of Cordova prospered for a long period and reached a high state of perfection by developing Arabic science, architecture, commerce and agriculture.

The Abbassids in Bagdad attained their greatest power and prosperity 768, under Harun al Rashid. They were overthrown by the Mongols in 1258.

Archibald J. Dunn: *The Rise and Decay of the Rule of Islam*, Part II. — E. A. Freeman: *History and Conquests of the Saracens.* — Stanley Lane-Poole: *The Mohammedan Dynasties.* — *The Empire of the Chaliphs:* E. R., '82, 1, p. 338. — A. v. Kremer: *Culturgeschichte des Orients under den Chalifen.* — See also books under Chapter III., § 1. — *About the Fall of the Visigoths.* — See Chapt. I., § 3.

ISLAM.

MOHAMMED, born about 571-632 at *Mecca*, Arabia, tribe of *Koreish*, family of *Hashem*, in feud with the family of Omia. Conquest of Arabia by Mohammed, 630-32.

Caliphates.	*Caliphs (Califs).*	*Conquests.*	*Battles.*	*Religious, etc.*
THE PATRIARCHAL CALIPHATE; Chalifs elective, relatives of the "Prophet." Capital: *Mecca* and *Medina.* 632-661.	*Abu Bekr*, 632-34. **OMAR**, 634-644. *Othman*, 644-655 (Omiad). *Ali*, 655-661, married Mohammed's danghter *Fatima.*	Conquest of *Syria*; of New Persia begun; **JERUSALEM**, 638; **NEW PERSIA**; *Egypt.* The regions of the *Black* and *Caspian* Seas; Asia to the *Indus* and *Oxus; North-Africa* invaded; *Cyprus* and *Rhodes.*	On the *Yermouk: Khaled* defeats 80,000 Byzantines. **NEHAVEND:** Victory of victories, 642; overthrow of the Persian Empire.	The *Koran*, written by *Mohammed*, was collected by *Abu Bekr*, and changed by *Othman.* The furious religious dissensions and the family feud between the *Hashemites* and *Omiads* rent Islam into two great sects: (a) the *Sunnites* who admit the Koran, tradition and the first *four* Caliphs as *spiritual* successors of Mohammed. (b) The *Shiahs*, also called *Aliites* and *Fatimites*, who reject tradition and the first *three* Caliphs, and recognize in *Ali* the first *Imam* or *spiritual* successor of Mohammed.
THE OMIAD CALIPHATE unmixed, purely Arabian — undivided — not opposed by a rival Caliphate. 14 Caliphs, 661-750. Capital: *Damascus.*	Chief Califs: *Moawija I.* made the Caliphate hereditary. *Walid I.* *Merwan II.*	Northern coast of Africa. Carthage fell 698. **SPAIN**, conquered by *Tarik* and *Musa*, 711-13. Asiatic conquest pushed onward to *India.*	**XERES DE LA FRONTERA**, 711.	
THE DIVIDED CALIPHATE. I. The **EASTERN** or **ABBASSID CALIPHATE**, 750-1258. Capital, *Bagdad.*	*Abbul Abbas.* **HAROUN AL RASHID**, 768, contemporary of Charles the Great. Mamoun. Highest splendor of the Caliphate. *Bagdad* overthrown by the *Mongols.* 1258.	Temporary conquests in *Sicily* and southern *Italy.*	On the **ZAB**, 750; Merwan II. defeated by **ABBUL ABBAS**; slaughter of 90 Omiad Princes and 600,000 adherents.	The golden periods of *Bagdad* and *Cordova* were renowned for the cultivation of philosophy, mathematics, (Arabic numbers), natural science, philosophy, architecture and industries.
II. **WESTERN** or **OMIAD CALIPHATE** in *Spain.* 755-1492. Capital: *Cordova.*	Founded by *Abderrhaman*, an Omiad prince who escaped the massacre of 755. Highest splendor under *Abderrhaman II.* 950.	Temporary conquests in southern Gaul.	**TOURS AND POITIERS**, 732. The Spanish Saracens defeated by **CHARLES MARTEL.**	

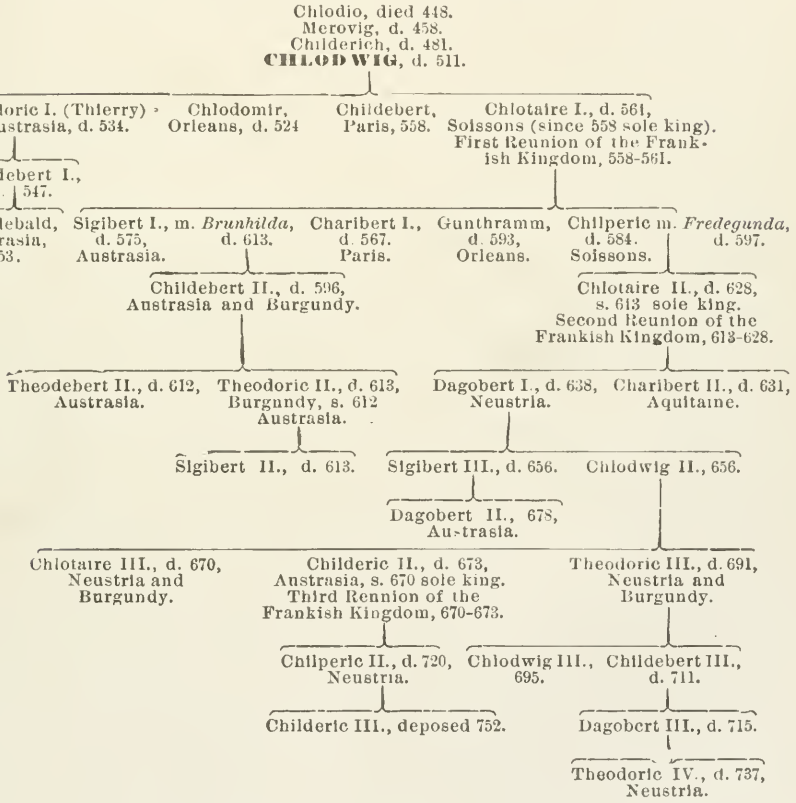
CHAPTER IV.

THE FRANKS, THE LOMBARDS, AND THE HOLY SEE.

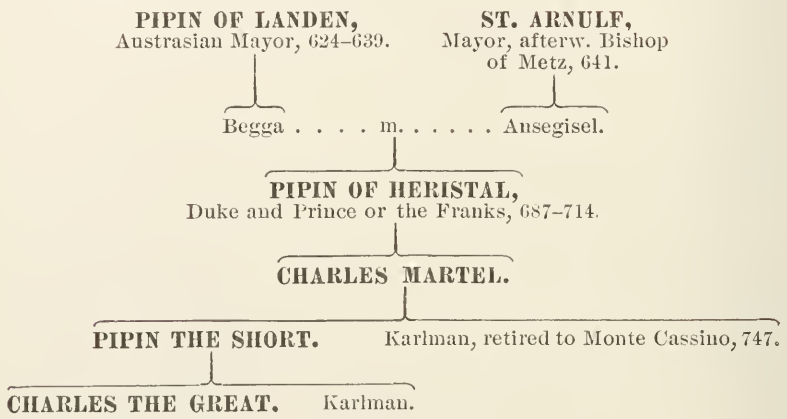
§ 1.

THE FRANKS UNDER THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE.

182. The Merovingian Kings of the Franks.



183. The Elder Carolingian Line.



184. **Pipin of Landen 624-39** — The Frankish kingdom, divided in 622 between Chlotaire II. and Dagobert I. was reunited under Dagobert by the exertions of Pipin of Landen and St. Arnulf, 628. Pipin of Landen as Major domus or Mayor of the Palace, was universally beloved for the wisdom, justice and mildness of his government. The Mayor domus had originally been a mere ministerial officer of the palace, the superintendent of the royal household. Pipin of Landen gained for this office not only larger powers, but a popularity and confidence quite new in the history of the Franks. The Mayor of the Palace soon came to distribute the royal lands and offices of the kingdom, and to command the Frankish armies. The Merovingian kings, mostly dissolute and helpless men, lost their power and importance in proportion as the Mayors of the Palace rose.

185. Pipin of Heristal 687–714. — In Neustria rose a number of ambitious Mayors of the Palace of whom Ebroin, the most violent, succeeded in establishing for a short time the superiority of Neustria. But Ebroin was murdered in 681; and six years later Pipin of Heristal defeated the Neustrians at Testri (near Soissons), became Mayor of the Palace for the whole Frankish kingdom, made the office hereditary in the Carolingian House, and assumed the title of Duke and Prince of the Franks. By the victory of Testri the Teutonic character of the Frankish kingdom was restored, and the German element triumphed over the Gallo-Roman for the next two centuries.

186. **Charles Martel, 714–741.** — Charles Martel, after a victorious struggle with domestic anarchy, found himself, in 720, in possession of the full power of his father. His whole life was one of campaigns and battles. From his wars with Alamannian, Bavarian and Thuringian dukes, with the Saxons and Frisians, he not only came forth victorious, but succeeded in uniting the armies of these dependent nations with the levies of Austrasia and Neustria against the greatest danger which ever threatened Western Europe, the advance of the Saracens from Spain.

187. Battle Between Tours and Poitiers, 732. — Since 712 (?) the Saracens of Spain had made several invasions across the Pyrenees, increasing from 726 in numbers, daring and persistency. Abd Errhaman overran in 732 with 400,000 persons, including women and children, all southern Gaul to the Loire, everywhere spreading terror, rapine and devastation. Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, threw himself on the mercy of Charles Martel, his former enemy. Between Tours and Poitiers the two greatest armies of the world met to decide, whether Christianity or the Islam, European or Asiatic civilization, should rule the continent.

For eight days the Saracens in their white cloaks, on fleet horses, the Franks in their iron coats of mail, engaged in preliminary fights. On the ninth day the battle became general; Eudo with his Aquitanians broke into the Arab camp. In the confusion which seized part of the enemies' forces, the whole line of the Frankish army steadily advanced bearing down every opposition. Abd Errhaman fell, while trying to encourage his followers. Eudo had, in the meanwhile, been driven from the camp. But the whole Saracen army fled under cover of the night. On this field Charles gained the surname of Martel, Hammer of the Infidels.

On the Catalaunian Fields the Aryan race had triumphed over the Turanians; here the Aryans triumphed over the Semitic race. This battle effectually checked the advance of the Moslem. Soon after their crushing defeat they recrossed the Pyrenees.

188. **State of Germany.** — While a number of Teutonic nations had settled within the territory of the late Roman Empire, others had remained in Germany proper, and settled in regions more or less defined, as the Frisians and Saxons in the North, the Hessians and Thuringians in Middle Germany, the Alamanni and Bavarians south of them. Of these the Saxons were still practically independent, the Frisians were in constant warfare with the Franks; the Thuringians, Alamanni and Bavarians were dependencies of

Austrasia. The dukes of Alamannia, Bavaria and Thuringia, though named by the Frankish kings or mayors of the palace, enjoyed a great deal of independence, and in union with the popular assemblies appointed their own counts and judges. The first missionaries from Ireland were followed by Anglo-Saxon and Frankish missionaries. St. Wilibrord of Ripon, the founder of the See of Utrecht, among the Frisians, St. Emmeran among the Bavarians, and others in other places had planted Christian colonies up and down the country in the midst of heathenism. But Germany found its great apostle in St. Boniface.

189. St. Boniface. — Winfrith of Kyrton in Wessex, belonging to the best type of the Anglo-Saxon race in clearness of thought and foresight and calm and indefatigable energy in the pursuit of a great aim, left England in 716. In his first visit to Rome he received from St. Gregory II. the mission to convert the Germans, accompanied by detailed instructions (718–19). On a second visit the same Pope ordained him bishop without a definite see, and gave him the name of Boniface, 723–24. In 732 Gregory III. sent him the pallium and Boniface, now Archbishop of Mainz and Utrecht, paid a third visit to the Holy See to consult with the Pope about the state of the Church in Germany (738). As missionary he had a double field of work marked out to him, — the reformation of the Christians converted by former missionaries, who in the anarchy of the times and through constant intercourse with the heathen had fallen into great disorders; and the conversion of the heathen who all over Germany still clung to their ancient superstitions. At Geismar, St. Boniface and his companions gave a death blow to heathen superstition by felling the thunder oak sacred to Thor in the presence of a vast multitude, and building of its wood an oratory of St. Peter. For twenty years he worked with unflagging zeal in this twofold direction among the Frisians, Hessians, Bavarians, Thuringians and eastern Franks.

190. Church Organization. — Great as a missionary, he was greater still as an organizer. He founded monasteries and convents; the monastic school of Fulda, the centre of learning for Middle Germany, was his work. The flourishing Church in England sent fellow-laborers, whom he distributed over different parts of the country. Anglo-Saxon nuns were intrusted with the government of convents and the education of the daughters of noble families. A series of synods in Germany counteracted existing abuses. In

Bavaria alone the great revival of the Catholic faith wrought by Boniface and seconded by the pious duke Odilo, called forth in less than forty years (740–778) twenty-nine splendid abbeys which became nurseries of holiness and learning throughout the Middle Ages. He divided Germany into thirteen bishoprics, united them under the Metropolitan See of Mainz, and binding them inseparably to the Holy See, gave lasting firmness to his missionary works. Thus he became the real founder of a united German nationality.

191. Abuses in the Frankish Kingdom; Reforms of St. Boniface. —The death of Charles Martel, who had granted him external protection, but had shown little sympathy with his reformatory measures, opened for him under Pipin the Short a new field of action in Austrasia and Neustria.

Austrasia was so much troubled by the violence of the nobles and the corruption of the clergy that multitudes abandoned the gospel and restored their idols. Besides the old heathenism still lingered in secluded places and mountain districts. There were men among the Austrasian Franks who united the worship of Christ with that of the northern gods. St. Boniface found priests in these regions who in the morning offered the unbloody sacrifice of Mass, and in the evening immolated bulls and goats to idols. One of the causes of these evils was the intrusion of unworthy clerks into church offices. The bishops and abbots, holding extensive landed estates, had become a rich and powerful order in the Frankish kingdom. In return the state obtained an undue influence over their appointment; bishops and abbots were frequently selected more for their political fidelity than for their spiritual vocation. This abuse became very serious under Charles Martel. Needing a great deal of money for his wars, he appointed men, sometimes even military men, to bishopries and abbeys, who were willing to accommodate him with the property of the Church. He considered monasteries as a kind of hospitals for invalid generals, whom he made lay-abbots. Bishops, like dukes and counts, rode to the battle and the chase, and lapsed into worldliness and license, which spread to the lower clergy and the people. Relaxation of discipline and a rich crop of irregularities and scandals in all classes of society was the inevitable result. It was in this field that St. Boniface conferred the greatest blessing on the Church by his reformatory work.

St. Boniface held his synods in Neustria with the authority of a Papal Legate. Unlawful bishops were removed, lawful ones installed or restored. Archbishops were obliged to apply to the Holy See for their pallium,

existing abuses were condemned and remedies applied for a reformation of manners. Pipin faithfully assisted St. Boniface in his noble exertions. Boniface, on his part, favored a strong and united kingdom under Pipin the Short, as best for the interests of the Church and the defense of Christendom against the power of the Islam. The work of the apostle of Germany was as necessary in paving the way for the Empire of Charles the Great, as was the sword of Charles Martel or Pipin the Short.

192. Accession of the Carolingians. — The hope of St. Boniface was soon to be fulfilled. The state of the kingdom demanded a change of dynasty. The Merovingians had become unfit to rule. Since Dagobert these kings were mostly boys, who apart from cases of violence, were not vigorous enough to reach manhood, thanks to the early weddings, intermarriages, polygamy and evil lives of the average Merovingians. Childeric III., the last Merovingian, became king at the age of ten. If there was to be any order in the kingdom, the mayors of the palace had to be its guardians, and the noble and forceful character of the Pipinides guaranteed an effective government. Pipin the Short, the successor of Charles Martel, aided by his brother Karlman, had suppressed the rebellions in Acquitaine and beyond the Rhine which usually marked the beginning of a new administration. Under these circumstances the temporal and spiritual lords of the kingdom sent bishop Burchard of Würzburg and abbot Fulrad of St. Denis to Pope St. Zachary, asking if he should be king who bore the mere name, or he who wielded the royal power? The Holy Pontiff answered: "It would be better and more profitable for him to be king who had the power in the kingdom." Thereupon Childeric III. was shorn and sent to a monastery according to the custom of the times. The Franks met in a General Assembly at Soissons, and lifted Pipin on the shield, 752. It was the last time that a Frankish king was chosen by this ceremony. Thus the choice of the nation raised the Carolingian House to the throne of the Franks, and the decision given under appeal by the general head and father of the faithful, gave legal valor and moral sanction to the change. The new king was anointed by St. Boniface, 752. Two years later, Stephen II. crossed the Alps and by anointing and

crowning Pipin and his sons Charles and Karlman at Paris, ratified the action of St. Zachary.

Mrs. Hope: *Boniface and the Conversion of Germany*, vol. II., *Conv. of the Teutonic Race.* — R. Parsons, D. D.: *St. Boniface, Apostle of Germany.* — *Lives of St. Willibrord and St. Winifrid* or *Bonifacius.* — Seiters: *Bonifacius.* — Wurdtwein ed.: *Epistolae St. Bonifacii.* — B. Jungmann: *De elevatione Pipini in Francorum regem:* Dissert. v. III., p. 109. — *On Pope Zachary*, see H. P. B., v. 84, pp. 173, 279. — Paul Viollet: *Histoire des Institutions Politiques et Administratives de la France* (from Celtic to Carolingian France) also, E. H. R., v. 6, p. 165. — G. Pfahler: *St. Bonifacius und seine Zeit.* — Buss-von Scherer: *Winifrid-Bonifacius.* — *St. Boniface:* H. P. B., v. 35, p. 1050. — *Rome und die Anfänge Deutschlands:* St. v. 7. p. 394. — Florian Riess, S. J.: *Von der Bekehrung Chlodwig's bis zum Tode Conrad I.*, St. v. 2, pp. 129, 213. See also *Histories of the Franks* under Chapt. II., § 2.

§ 2.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PAPAL STATES.

193. Causes Which Led to the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes. — (1.) Position of the Popes. The temporal sovereignty of the Holy See was not founded by any particular action of the Popes; it was not snatched away from the Eastern Emperors; it was the necessary result of the position of the Popes, who were compelled by the circumstances of the time to be for the inhabitants of Italy, what the Emperors could not or would not be, the natural protectors of the people in times of extraordinary distress.

(2.) The Patrimony of St. Peter. A cause working from the earliest times was the gradual increase of the Patrimony of St. Peter, consisting of towns, villages, large farms, pasture lands, etc., which the generosity of the great Roman families donated to the Roman Church. With these landed estates went the coloni or cultivators, whose lot was at once greatly changed for the better by the fostering care of the Church, although they remained attached to the soil. The income of the Patrimonies was used for the building and maintenance of churches and monasteries, for the foundation of hospices for travelers and hospitals for the sick, for the support of the advocates (defensores) who had to defend the poor and persecuted free of charge, for purchasing the freedom of slaves, for relieving the needs of the people in Italy and elsewhere, suffering under the stress of barbarian invasions; thus money and clothes were sent to Africa during the Vandal rule. At the time of St. Gregory the Great, the Patrimony of St. Peter comprised farms, villages, and herds in northern and southern Italy in Sicily, Corsica, Africa, Gaul, and other places.

(3.) Imperial Grants. The exercise of many regal powers under the authority of the Emperors accustomed the people to see in the Popes the best protectors even of their temporal interests. Successive Emperors bestowed on the Popes and bishops authority to free converted slaves, to act as arbiters in trials, to administer the poor laws, to command, for these pur-

poses, the aid of the prefects (Constantine); to exercise supervision over the dealings of merchants, over measures and weights (Valentinian); to elect the secular defensores or advocates (Honorius and Theodosius II.); to superintend prisons, prisoners, orphans and slaves (Justinian); to exercise legislative power and full jurisdiction in the Patrimony of St. Peter (generally recognized); to organize the military defense of Rome and of the episcopal cities of Italy (frequently enjoined on them). And because the Emperors and exarchs often neglected their duties toward the people, the Popes were compelled to exercise the right of treating with hostile armies and leaders, and of concluding peace with them; they had often to defray all the expenses of the defense of Rome and of the Byzantine possessions in Italy out of the property of the Church. The very saving of the city of Rome was twice due to the action of St. Leo the Great.

194. The Holy See and the Byzantines. — The despotism of the Eastern Emperors in Church and State affairs, especially the treacherous dealings of Monothelite and image-breaking Emperors with the Supreme Pontiffs estranged the Roman and Italian people from their loyalty to the Empire. It was yet fresh in the memory of all how Constantine (Constans II.) had chained and exiled St. Martin, how the same Emperor had plundered the Roman churches, how Justinian II. had commanded the exarch to seize Pope Sergius and send him to Constantinople. The watchful fidelity of the Roman people saved Sergius and other Popes from attempted imprisonment or murder. Matters grew much worse when a new tyrant, the low-born Leo the Isaurian (717–741) ten years after his accession decreed under heavy penalties the destruction of all sacred images exposed to lawful veneration in churches and public places. It seems he had imbibed a fanatical hatred against religious images from the Jewish and Mohammedan associates of his youth. When Leo plotted against the life of St. Gregory II., the people of Rome and of the Exarchate slew some of the imperial officials and expelled others. The cities took the appointment of their rulers into their own hands. In the next Pontificate, that of Gregory III., an imperial army, whilst everywhere breaking images, confiscated the patrimonies of St. Peter in Sicily, and devastated those of Italy. Constantine V. Copronymus (741–75) was a still worse tyrant than his father Leo. Thus the Eastern Emperors forfeited their claim to the loyalty of Italy by their own actions. And yet in all these events the Popes tried their best to restrain the people. Gregory II. prevented the

election of an Italian rival Emperor. Whilst the Popes rebuked heretical Emperors with apostolic freedom in matters of religion, not one of them broke his temporal allegiance even to the worst of them.

195. The Lombards. — Although the conversion of the Lombards led to a better treatment of the Italian Catholics, the latter were still kept in a state of tributary subjection. The Lombard law enacted under Rothari (635–52) by the king and the nobles with the assent of the army and nation, was made for the special benefit of the Lombard population. The invaders excluded the Italians from all share in the government, from all official positions, even from military service. A smaller fine (wergeld) was imposed for killing or wounding an Italian than for killing or wounding a Lombard. The two races never coalesced. Though some of the Lombard kings were pious and peaceful men, builders of churches, friends of the clergy, and benefactors to the poor (Aribert I., 653–62; Berthari, 672–88), the Lombard rule on the whole was feared and hated by the descendants of the Romans.

196. Luitprand, 712-744, and St. Gregory II., 715–731.— Luitprand, the contemporary of Leo the Isaurian, was the greatest of the Lombard kings. His life was a struggle between the high reverence for the Papacy of a pious Catholic and the ambition of a successful conqueror bent upon the union of all Italy under Lombard rule. Whenever the pursuit of this aim brought him into conflict with the Holy See, his better nature triumphed in the end. When the storm of image-breaking reached Italy, Luitprand took advantage of the bitter feeling existing among the Italian people, and aided by them conquered the city and the Exarchate of Ravenna, 727. The admonition of Gregory II., however, induced the loyal Venetians to reconquer the city for the Eastern Empire.

Although Gregory II. had aided the cause of the Empire, the exarch Eutychius plotted against him under orders from Constantinople and succeeded for a time in winning the assistance of Luitprand. Whilst the king was to march against the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, who had made themselves all but independent of the crown, Eutychius was to lay siege to Rome and seize the Pope. After receiving the voluntary submission of the dukes, Luitprand joined Eutychius and pitched his camp in the Field of Nero, outside Rome. But when Gregory II. visited him in his camp, Luitprand was so deeply impressed with the sanctity of Gregory, that he threw himself at his feet, accompanied him to Rome, laid his armor and other rich presents

on the altar of St. Peter, and induced Eutychius to raise the siege and make peace. The exarch had to content himself with the possession of Ravenna, the rest of the Exarchate remained in Luitprand's hands. The peace which followed, lasted nearly ten years. A few months after the pacification St. Gregory II. died, and was succeeded by Gregory III. (731–741).

197. Luitprand, Gregory III. and St. Zachary. — In 738 Luitprand was again seized by the desire to conquer Italy. Whilst he laid waste the surroundings of Ravenna, he ordered the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento to invade the duchy of Rome. The dukes being in friendly alliance with the Holy See and the Roman people, refused to carry out the king's unjust command. Thereupon Luitprand occupied Spoleto, whose duke Trasimund had fled to Rome. Luitprand followed him to the walls of Rome and demanded from Gregory III. the surrender of Trasimund. Upon the Pope's refusal he captured four castles in the neighborhood of Rome and laid siege to the city. Gregory III. appealed to Charles Martel for aid. Out of personal friendship for Luitprand, the mayor of the palace refrained from sending an army, but by friendly mediation induced Luitprand to raise the siege of Rome (739). When Pope St. Zachary ascended the chair of St. Peter (741–753), Luitprand concluded with him a peace of twenty years, and restored or donated to the Holy See a number of towns and patrimonies, both within and without the duchy of Rome. The peace was signed in the name of the Emperor, 741. A few years later St. Zachary, in a personal visit to the king, obtained similar concessions for the Exarchate and the Eastern Empire.

Luitprand's long reign was the most successful period in the history of the Lombards. He cleared central Italy of the Byzantines, extended the frontiers north and eastwards against Bavarians and Avars, reduced turbulent vassals to obedience and through lengthy periods of peace promoted the prosperity of Italy. His successor Hildebrand reigned only two months and was succeeded by Rachis, duke of Friuli, 744–50. Being of a pious and peaceful disposition, he strictly observed the peace concluded by Luitprand till 749, when for some reason or other he laid siege to Perugia. Pope Zachary hastened to his camp and pleaded with him to such purpose, that Rachis not only raised the siege, but laid down the crown and embraced with his wife and sons the religious state. Thus for the fourth time in a short period it was proved, that the people of Italy had no better protector than the Pope.

198. Aistulf, 750-56, and Stephen II., 752-757. — With the accession of Aistulf as king of the Lombards, the question of Papal Sovereignty came to an issue. The restless king first conquered the city of Ravenna, drove Eutychius, the last exarch, to Naples, and occupied every foot of the land in central Italy which had been subject to the Empire, 751–52. The extinction of the Byzantine power in this part of Italy, and the independence of Rome and the Holy See were now matters of fact. Aistulf then turned against the duchy of Rome, treating the embassies of the Pope with contempt. With perfect loyalty Stephen II. sent letter after letter to the Emperor, and implored him to send an army for the protection of Rome. But Constantine V. was too busy breaking images, and did not even deign to answer. His refusal to protect his subjects in the stress of danger was equivalent to an abdication of his claims. Stephen II. had the right and the duty to seek help elsewhere. He sought it from the Franks. Pipin the Short invited him to visit Gaul. With the same loyalty which he had shown to the Emperor, Stephen went first to Pavia and in a personal interview with Aistulf tried every legitimate means of pacification, openly telling him of his intention to invoke the protection of Pipin. Aistulf was very angry, refused all satisfaction, but did not dare to prevent his journey. Repulsed at Pavia as at Constantinople, the Pope finally took the momentous step which gave a new and happy turn to all future history.

199. Stephen II. and Pipin. — The Pope was received by Pipin with the greatest honors at Ponthion near Paris. Most willing to aid the Pope, Pipin tried as a first means a peaceful embassy to Aistulf. But foreseeing its failure, he summoned two diets of the Frankish realm, one to meet at Soissons (March), the other at Quiersy (April, 754). The assembled nobles declared, that they would not fight against the Lombards, hitherto their friends, to reconquer the Italian provinces for an image-breaking Emperor whose claims were forfeited — but they were ready to vindicate with their swords the rights of the Church, St. Peter and the Holy See. Accordingly when the peaceful mission to Aistulf had failed, Pipin with his Franks set out for Italy, defeated Aistulf in the passes of the Alps and besieged him in Pavia. Aistulf sued for peace, and

the prayers of Stephen II. prevailed on Pipin to grant him comparatively honorable terms, insisting however on the restoration to the Roman Church and republic, of the Exarchate, the Pentapolis and other places taken from the Romans. But scarcely had Pipin left Italy, when Aistulf, throwing his sworn promises to the winds, proceeded to a second siege of Rome, burning and devastating, and raging against the unarmed inhabitants of the surrounding country with vandal brutality. Once more the Franks forced the passes of the Alps, and beleaguered him in his capital until he cried for mercy. He had to renew and to carry out at once his former engagements and to pay a heavy indemnity. Abbot Fulrad of St. Denis was sent from city to city to receive the keys in the name of the conqueror. His mission accomplished, Fulrad went to Rome and placed the keys and the written donation of Pipin on the tomb of St. Peter. By this donation the Frankish conquests of the Exarchate, Aemilia, and the Adriatic Pentapolis (Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Umana and Ancona) were forever handed over to the Holy See as a free and independent possession.

Thus the sovereignty of the Holy See and the formation of the Papal States were founded on the law of nature; on the joyful consent of the Roman and Italian people; on the extinction of the Byzantine claims, which the Emperors forfeited by the neglect of the first and fundamental duty of sovereigns, the care of the people; on the right of conquest in a just war undertaken for the necessary defense of the Church and its head and of the Roman people; on the solemn recognition by the Lombards of the Papal dominion, as expressed in the Treaty of Pavia, on the free donation made by Pipin the Short, the latest lawful possessor of the ceded territory. For himself Pipin demanded nothing but the prayers of the Church and the title of Patrician in its new Catholic meaning, i. e., Defender of the Church, which he received on the day of his coronation by Stephen II. No European dynasty has a juster or more legitimate title to its dominion than the Holy See.

200. The Conquests of Pipin. — Pipin the Short as king of the Franks (752–68) subjected the Frisians, made the Saxons tributary, drove the last Arabs across the Pyrenees, and conquered Aquitaine. The martyrdom of St. Boniface in Friesland, 755, was followed by the speedy conversion of the Frisians. Before his death Pipin the Short divided the government of the Frankish

kingdom between his sons Karlman, who obtained the South, and Charles the Great, who obtained the North.

Pipin the Short possessed all the distinguishing traits of the great men of the House of St. Arnulf and Pipin of Landen, courage, energy, administrative skill, solid piety, an equal zeal for the spread of Christianity abroad and the purity of the Church at home, and a magnificent devotion to St. Peter and the Holy See. There is but one man, greater in his line, his son, Charles the Great.

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THE KINGDOM AND EMPIRE OF THE FRANKS.

Kings and Mayors of the Palace.

CHLODWIG or **CLOVIS**, founder of the *Merovingian* Kingdom, 486-511.

Merovingian Dynasty, 486-752. Sons of Clovis:

Theodoric (*Thierry*), of Austrasia.
Chlodomir, at Orleans.
Childebert, at Paris.
Chlothar I., at Soissons.

Sigibert I., **BRUNHILDE**, *of Austrasia*, d. 613.

Chilperic, **FREDEGUNDE**, *of Soissons*, d. 597.

Chlothar II., d. 628.

PIPIN OF LANDEN, M. of the Palace, 624-639.

Childeric II, of Austrasia, d. 673.

PIPIN OF HERISTAL, Mayor of the Palace, 687-714.

Growth of the Carolingian House.

The Kingdoms of the Frankish Empire, sometimes united, at other times divided, were *Austrasia*, *Neustria*, *Burgundy*, *Aquitaine*.

First Reunion of the Kingdoms under Chlothar I., 558-61.

PIPIN OF LANDEN and **ST. ARNULF OF METZ**, the ancestors of the Carolingian House, secured the victory in the civil wars to the *aristocracy*, 613.

Second Reunion of the Empire, under Chlothar II., 613-28.

Pipin of Landen, made the office of Major Domus (Mayor of the Palace) paramount in the kingdom.

Third Reunion of the Empire, 670-73. Pipin of Herlstal made the office of major domus hereditary in his family, and assumed the title of *Duke and Prince of the Franks.*

Wars and Battles.

With *Syagrius:* **SOISSONS**, 486.

With *Alamanni:* **ZÜLPICH**, 496.

With *Visigoths:* *Voulon*, 507.

The sons of Chlodwig conquered:

Thuringia, 527.
Aquitaine, 531.
Burgundy, 534.
Bavaria, about 548.

Sanguinary family and civil wars between the monarchical party headed by *Brunhilde of Austrasia* and the aristocratic party headed by *Fredegunde of Neustria.*

Wars with the Saxons and Frisians. Frequent risings of the Alamanni, Bavarians and Thuringians, against the Franks, their nominal masters.

Battle of *Testri*, between *Austrasia* and *Neustria;* Neustrians defeated by *Pipin of Heristal*, who becomes mayor of the palace for the whole Frankish Empire.

Conversion of Germany.

The first missionaries of the Germans who had never been under Roman rule, were Irish Saints (*St. Fridolin*, *St. Kilian*, and others). **ST. COLUMBA**, the founder of *Iona* on the Scotch coast, passed to Brittany, worked among the *Burgundians* and the *Franks* of Austrasia, the *Alamanni* in the northern Alps (**ST. GALL**), and the *Longobards* under *Theodolinda* and *Agilulf.* The first missionaries were followed by **ANGLO SAXON** and *Frankish* missionaries. The real Apostle of Germany, since 716, was **WINFRITH** of Wessex, **ST. BONIFACE.** He preached among the *Frisians*, the *Hessians*, the *Bavarians*, and other tribes; founded the Metropolitan See of **MAINZ**; organized the hierarchy, and held many reformatory synods against the abuses prevailing in the Frankish realm. He suffered martyrdom among the *Frisians*, 755.

CHARLES MARTEL, "The Hammer of the Infidels." major domus, 714–741.

Fought with, and then united the *Alamanni Bavarians, Thuringians, Saxons*, and *Frisians* against the invading *Saracens of Spain.*

Great victory of **CHARLES MARTEL** over *Abd Errhaman*, between **TOURS AND POITIERS**, 732.

Europe saved from Moslem domination.

PIPIN THE SHORT, mayor, 741–752. Second Dynasty of the Franks, the **CAROLINGIANS** or **KARLINGS**.

General Assembly of the Franks at **SOISSONS**, 752.

The *Merovingians* deposed for inefficiency.

PIPIN lifted on the shield with the consent of Pope **ST. ZACHARY**.

In East-Frankland (future Germany), 752–911.

In West-Frankland (future France), 752–987.

PIPIN THE SHORT, first Carolingian King of the Franks, 752–768.

Anointed by *St. Boniface.*

Anointed and crowned by Pope **STEPHEN II.**, 754.

Pipin the Short, as king, subjected the *Frisians*, made the *Saxons* tributary, and drove the last *Saracens* across the Pyrenees.

ORIGIN OF THE PAPAL STATES.

1. The historical position of the Papacy.
2. The Patrimonies of St. Peter.
3. Regal rights granted by several Emperors.
4. The necessity of protecting the people of Italy against successive invasions at the expense of the Church—the eastern Emperors neglecting their duties.
5. The tyranny of the *Monothelite*, and especially the *Iconoclastic* Emperors.
6. The conquest of Ravenna and the Pentapolis by Pipin the Short, and the donation of the conquered cities and territories to the Holy See.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE.

§ 1.

THE CHURCH.

201. General Councils. — 1. The wonderful success which the Church met with in converting not only the Roman world but also the barbarian nations who divided between themselves the Roman inheritance, is due to the divine Constitution of the Church. The Church faithfully exercised the teaching and ruling powers which her divine founder bestowed on her. As Christ had predicted, heresies arose and endangered the unity of faith.

Especially in the East the peace of the Empire was often broken by heresies concerning the highest mysteries of religion. As the Greeks had in ancient times produced so many subtle philosophers, so they now produced a number of subtle heretics, who endeavored to impose on the faithful the inventions of their unruly minds and of their intellectual pride as the teachings of faith. When a heresy became dangerous, the bishops gathered around the Pope or his representatives, and decided the point in question in General or Ecumenical Councils. At other times the Popes by their own authority gave decisions in matters of faith or morals, binding on the whole Church. In some cases the bishops assembled in Council simply accepted the definition of the Pope transmitted to them by letter. In all cases the Catholic people, east or west, Oriental, Greek, Roman or Teutonic, submitted, as a matter of course, to the definitions of Council or Pope. Thus both the collective infallibility of the Church, and the personal infallibility of the Pope found frequent expression.*

* The often refuted charges against Liberius and Honorius, which non-Catholic authors cite against these facts, cannot be treated in a work like this. But lay readers desiring information may consult standard church histories, or essays like the following: R. Parsons: *The Alleged Heresy of Pope Liberius*, Studies I., p. 220. — B. Jungmann: *De supposito lapsu Liberii*, Dissert., v. II., p. 1. — P. J. Harrold: *The Alleged Fall of Pope Liberius:* A. C. Q., v. 8, p. 529. — *On Pope Liberius:* Katholik, '68, 2, p. 513; '84, 1, p. 1. — A. F. Marshall: *Honorius and Liberius, Pontiffs:* A. C. Q., v. 19, p. 82. — P. Botalla, S. J.: *Pope Honorious before the Tribunal of Reason and History.* — W. G. Ward: *The Condemnation of Pope Honorius*: D. R. '79, 4, Appendix. — R. Parsons: *The Alleged Heresy of Pope Honorius*, Studies, I., p. 432. — B. Jungmann: *De Causa Honorii:* Dissert. v. II., p. 383. — T. P. Parkinson: *Pope Honorius*, M. '85, 1, p. 69. — See also: A. C. Q., v. 7, p. 162; H. P. B., v. 54, p. 364: Katholik: '68, 2, p. 675. — Schneemann, S. J., *Honorius.*

(1) The first General Council of Nice in Bithynia (I. of Nice) was held in the reign of Constantine the Great, under the presidency of Hosius, bishop of Cordova, as the representative of Pope Sylvester and two other Papal legates. It declared the unity of God against the Polytheists, the Trinity against the Sabellians, the creation of all visible and invisible things against the Manicheans, and especially the divinity of Christ against the Arians, the followers of the Alexandrian priest Arius. It affirmed the primacy of the Bishop of Rome (Canons 6 and 7).

(2) The 2d General Council, the I. of Constantinople, was held 381 in the reign of Theodosius the Great. Only oriental bishops were present. It declared the divinity of the Holy Ghost against Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, and reaffirmed the primacy of the Roman See. (Canon 5.) It received its ecumenical character from the fact that Pope Damasus and his successors confirmed its dogmatical decisions.

(3) Pelagianism received its name from Pelagius, a Briton by birth (Morgan) who denied original sin and the unconditional necessity of grace. The center of the heresy was Africa, whence it spread eastward to Syria, and westward as far as Britain. It was condemned by the personal decisions of two Popes, Innocent I. addressing the bishops of Africa (417), and Zosimus, addressing all the bishops of the world (418).

(4) The 3d General Council, of Ephesus, was held in the reign of Theodosius II., 431. St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria as the representative of Pope Celestine, assisted by three other papal legates presided. It condemned the heresy of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who asserted that there were two persons in Christ, and gave to the veneration of the Mother of God a new and brilliant lustre. Pope Celestine had personally condemned Nestorianism in 430. The Council accepted his decision.

(5) Opposition to Nestorianism led Eutyches, an abbot in the neighborhood of Constantinople, into the opposite extreme of denying the two natures in Christ. St. Leo I., the Great, condemned the heresy in a dogmatical letter addressed to the eastern and western bishops. The 4th General Council met at Chalcedon, in the reign of St. Pulcheria and Marcian. It was held with the understanding that nothing could be changed in the doctrine already defined by Leo. The Council, receiving the Papal Letter with acclamations of joy, condemned both Nestorianism and Eutychianism.

(6) The 5th General Council, the II. of Constantinople, under Pope Vigilius and Emperor Justinian, 553, confirmed former Conciliar decisions about the Holy Trinity and the one person and the two natures in Christ. It was subsequently confirmed by the Pope.

(7) The 6th General Council, the III. of Constantinople, was held in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, 680, against the Monothelites who denied two wills in Christ. Three Papal Legates presided. The Fathers accepted the dogmatical letter of Pope Agatho without addition, omission or change, and condemned Monothelism.

(8) The 7th General Council, the II. of Nice, was held against the Icono-

clasts during the regency of Irene for her minor son Constantine VI. Papal legates presided. The dogmatical letter of Hadrian I. was acknowledged as the basis on which the Council approved the veneration (not adoration) of the Saints by the honor paid to their images or relics. Almost every vote was accompanied by a recognition of the Pope's supreme teaching authority.

202. **Introduction of Metropolitan Power.** — The Pope during this period was also in a special manner the Patriarch of the West including Eastern Illyricum, the Primate of Italy, the Metropolitan of Latium, the Bishop of Rome, and, after Pipin's donation, the sovereign of the Papal States. The Metropolitan power was not instituted by Christ, but resulted from ecclesiastical legislation, by which the Pope for the better discharge of his duty gave to the bishops of prominent sees a share in his primatial powers. The Archbishop exercises Metropolitan power over the bishops of a province; the Primate over the bishops of a whole country (Armagh, Canterbury, Mainz); the Patriarch, over a number of ecclesiastical provinces (in the East — Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem).

203. **St. Gregory I., the Great, 590-604.** — St. Gregory the Great offers the best example of the varied activity of the Roman See in the period of the "wandering of the nations." He defended his Primacy against the schismatical claims of the Emperor (Mauritius) and the Patriarch (John) of Constantinople; insisted on the canonical election of bishops in the Frankish kingdom; converted the Anglo-Saxons through the mission of St. Augustine received the last Arians of Burgundy, many Longobards and all the Visigoths of Spain into the Church; and corresponded with the bishops in every part of Christendom. While the Byzantines were unable to cope with the Longobards, Gregory protected at the expense of the Church the city of Rome and southern possessions of the Emperor, and mediated a peace between the Longobards and the court of Constantinople. When the war broke out again, he obtained from Agilulf a separate peace for Rome and the Roman territories. Loaded with the cares of all the Churches he still found time to write books, to serve the poor with his own hands, to protect the persecuted of all classes, Romans or barbarians, freemen or slaves, Christians or Jews. He is the first statesman of Europe who, with a clear purpose, worked for the emancipation of the farming class. On the patrimonies of St. Peter he made the holdings of the farmers hereditary in the family, regulated the liberation of converted slaves, and purchased with the proceeds of the Church the freedom of serfs. The Pontificate of Gregory the Great not only exhibits the Primacy in the full exercise of its spiritual functions, but also foreshadows the line of activity imposed upon the great Popes of the middle ages by their historical position.

204. **The Fathers.** — Whilst the literature of paganism fell with its creed into absolute decay, a new, lofty, active and aggressive literature sprang

from the bosom of the Church. Its representatives were the *Fathers*, men equally prominent by holiness and learning, the witnesses to the uninterrupted tradition of the Church. Such men were Tertullian, Origen, Leo the Great, Lactantius, Gregory of Nyssa, the two Cyrils of Jerusalem and of Alexandria, Peter Chrysologus, the historians Orosius, Salvian, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoret, the poets Juvencus and Prudentius, and hosts of others. Among these, four Fathers in the East, and four in the West have earned the title of the Great Doctors of the Church.

St. Athanasius of Alexandria (296–373) was for fifty years the champion of Catholic doctrine against Arianism. Five times he was driven into exile for his faith but lived to see the collapse of the Arian heresy.

St. Basil the Great, bishop of Neo-Caesarea (330–379) and Gregory Nazianzen (330–390) were in their youth schoolmates, in their riper years opponents of Julian the Apostate. Their controversial writings were devoted to a luminous refutation of Arianism and Macedonianism. St. John Chrysostom (344–407), Patriarch of Constantinople, belongs to the best Greek authors and the first orators of Christendom. His oration for Eutropius the fallen favorite of Emperor Arcadius is a masterpiece of impassioned eloquence. He was as fearless a defender of Christian morality against the scandals of the court as of Catholic truth against error. The enmity of Empress Eudoxia sent him twice into exile. But even from his exile, the influence of his writings was powerful throughout the Christian world. He died, whilst being conveyed by a brutal soldiery to the furthest shores of the Black Sea.

Of the great Doctors of the West, St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (340–397), with unshaken firmness, resisted all attempts of the secular power to interfere in the administration of the Church. To him we owe the Gregorian chant.

St. Jerome (346–420), priest, traveler and hermit, was a scholar of vast erudition, the adviser of learned men in every part of the world. He is renowned for his translation of the Holy Scriptures from the oriental languages into Latin (the Vulgata or authorized version). With all his indefatigable work for ecclesiastical learning, he was no despiser of what was good in classical literature. Thus he made the monks of Mount Olivet copy the Ciceronian dialogues, and himself expounded the Roman poets to the children of Bethlehem.

St. Augustine (354–430), the son of St. Monica and the convert of St. Ambrose, was the greatest genius of the Patristic age, and perhaps of all ages. Whilst refuting with irresistible logic the Jews, the Manicheans, the Donatists and especially the Pelagians, it was the pagan controversy which produced his greatest work, The City of God, in the composition of which he spent 14 years (412–426). By this work he became the founder of a new science, unknown to the Ancients, the philosophy of history. He died in the third month of the siege by the Vandals of Hippo Regius, his episcopal city.

St. Gregory the Great (see No. 203), concludes the number of the great western Doctors.

205. **Monasticism.** — The Church received in Monasticism a powerful auxiliary in her work. Monasticism is a permanent state of life founded on the evangelical counsels of Christ, voluntary poverty (of the individual), chastity and obedience. The first monks (from the Greek monos, solitary) lived in Egypt and were hermits. St. Paul, the first hermit, appeared 251. A little later he was followed by St. Anthony, who formed a rule, and was succeeded by St. Pachomius. He assembled his disciples into regular communities governed by a fixed law. Under this rule the monks spread rapidly over the entire East, and at length St. Basil became the author of a monastic law which was soon adopted by all the oriental monasteries. In the West, the first monastery was founded by St. Martin of Tours; 2,000 monks followed his mortal remains to the grave. In 410 the great abbey of Lerins was founded which was destined to produce so many illustrious men.

206. **St. Benedict. 480–543.** — The chief founder and Patriarch of Monasticism in the West is St. Benedict of Nursia. Born of the Anician family in Rome he spent a great part of his life in the cave of Subiaco, founded 12 monasteries, and built the Benedictine metropolis of Monte Cassino in the territory of Naples. The "Rule of St. Benedict" made obedience and manual labor the ground-work of his order. St. Gregory the Great, himself a Benedictine abbot, added the pursuit of learning to the aims of the order. The rule spread over the whole of Europe (outside the Greek Empire), and became the foremost agent of civilization for the Teutonic and Slavonic nations.

207. **Activity of the Benedictine Monks.** — The Benedictine Order gave to the Church 28 Popes, over 200 Cardinals, 1,600 Archbishops, 4,000 Bishops, and 16,000 Abbots. The monks were the best agriculturists of the day and the pioneers of civilization. "Settling in some unreclaimed spot," or in the wild tracts of land granted by king or noble, "they made a clearing of the forest, tilled the lands, whilst their monastery formed a nucleus round which the farmers might settle. It thus became the school for the children, the hospital for the sick, the alms-house for the poor, the inn for the traveler" and in many cases the germ of some future university. "Here alone were any remains of the ancient classics or Latin fathers preserved; here alone the pursuits of learning and of the finer arts were followed. Here church music (the Gregorian chant), the writing and illumination of missals, bell-founding, organ-building were pursued. Here lived the chroniclers to whom we are indebted for nearly all that we know of those days." The monks were the missionaries, the teachers, the authors, the architects, the carvers, the painters of their time.

208. **The Church and the Migration of Nations.** — Amidst the ruins caused by the migration of nations, the Church alone

stood strong and erect, because she was the only complete social organism in the world. Her bishops, teaching in the name of God, were the representatives of religion, of the moral law, of the rights of conscience, of the laws of social order and authority. The Teutonic kings, consciously or unconsciously, were awed into reverence for the men of the Church in whom they met Roman fortitude tempered by Christian purity, charity, self-devotion and discipline.

Attila was overawed by Leo: Odovaker bowed to Severinus the great hermit on the Danube: Totila visited St. Benedict of Nursia: St. Epiphanius, bishop of Ticinum (Pavia), obtained from Theodoric the Great the revocation of a penal edict against the followers of Odovaker, and a remission of two-thirds of the taxes for the people of his diocese. Equally beneficial was the influence of Avitus of Vienne among the Burgundians, of St. Remigius, among the Franks and others too numerous to be mentioned. The protecting influence of the Church was eagerly invoked by the governed and not repelled by the ruler; the conquerors, though still Arians, employed Catholic bishops as peacemakers, arbiters, embassadors and personal advisers. Only where the Church was partially or wholly swept away, as in Africa and Britain, the lot of the conquered race was complete subjection or extermination. The Church protected the Roman and educated the barbarian.

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(2) (Councils and Heresies): *The First Seven General Councils. I.:* Reuben Parsons: Studies I., 136. — B. Jungmann: Dissert. II., p. 355. — Gams: *Hosius of Corduba* (Spain, Book 6).

II. Reuben Parsons: Stud., I., 247; Jungmann. II., p. 84.
III. " " " 276 " " 159.
IV. " " " 329 " " 255.
V. " " " 359 " " 314.
VI. " " " 419 " " 438.
VII. " " " 466 " vol. III., p. 1.

Hefele-Oxenham: *A History of the Councils of the Church* (from vol. I-V, year 787). — J. Ploetzer. S. J.: *Der heil. Stuhl und die oekumenischen Concilien des Alterthums:* I. K. Z., '86, pp. 1, '87.

(3) (Gregory the Great and the Fathers): Abbott Snow: *Gregory the Great, His Work and His Spirit.* — A. J. Saxon: *St. Gregory the Great* (C. T. S. P.) — R. Parsons: *The Pontificate of St. Gregory the Great* (Studies I., p. 389). — Dr. C. Wolfgruber. O. S. B.: *Gregor der Grosse.— On Gregory the Gr. and His Social Activity:* H. P. B., v. 99, p. 149; v. 105, 329; Katholik: '94. 1, p. 12. — Paul Allard: *St. Basile* (Les Saints). — Hatzfeld-Holt: *St. Augustine.* — Sargent: *St. Jérôme* (Les Saints).

(4) (On St. Benedict and Monasticism): Montalembert: *Monks of the West; St. Benedict:* ibid, v. I., Book IV. — T. W. Allies: *The Monastic Life of the Fathers of the Desert to Charlemagne.* — Abbot Tosti; W. R. Woods; T. C. Snow: *St. Benedict.* — E. F. X. Sweeny: *The Monks of Old:* A. C. Q., v. 7, p. 331. — *The Rule of St. Benedict:* Henderson: Select Hist. Docs. — Card. Newman: *Mission of St. Benedict; Benedictine Schools:* Hist. Sketches.

§ 2.

THE STATE.

209. Germanic and Roman Population. — In conquering the Roman provinces the Anglo-Saxons and Vandals (and partly the Longobards) appropriated all, the Burgundians and Visigoths two-thirds, the followers of Odovaker and the Ostrogoths one-third, of the Roman estates, while the Franks contented themselves with the imperial domains and unappropriated lands. The free Romans retained their personal liberty, and, among the Franks, even gained influential places. The position, however, of the native population was inferior to that of their new masters in three points: they lost a part of their estates; the Teutonic king ruling them by the Roman law had far greater power over them, than the German customs allowed him over his tribal subjects; and the slaying or injuring of a Roman was compensated by a smaller wergeld, than if committed against a German. The Roman slaves gained by the change of masters, as the Germans from ancient times treated their slaves better than the Romans. Besides, the action of the Church constantly tended towards improving the lot of the slaves. On the other hand the Roman law and language reacted on the conquerors. The tribal customs, being reduced to writing, were expressed in Latin; some of the methods and decisions of the civil law found their way into the Salian, Ripuarian, Visigothic, and other Teutonic laws; the daily intercourse of a Latin and a Teutonic population living side by side prepared the way for a fusion of the two tongues into the Romance languages, Italian, French and Spanish.

210. The Feudal System. — The Feudal System grew out of the ancient custom of the "following" or comitatus. The king distributed the land appropriated by the conquest among his army. To each freeman an allod (allodium, freehold) or hereditary estate was allotted. The king himself received larger tracts of land in different parts of the territory, which he was unable to cultivate himself. Of these royal lands the Merovingian kings granted estates for life to their kinsmen or immediate followers (beneficia, fiefs), for which the tenants pledged their fidelity to the king. Allod or fief could be regranted by the holder to those below him (sub-infeudation). This relation created a beneficiary tie between lord and tenant. Again an inferior, who needed a stronger arm to protect him, put himself and his land under the personal protection of a lord by the Act of Commendation. He placed his hands between the hands of the lord and took the oath of fealty, thereby becoming his "man,"

(homo, homagium, homage). This was the personal tie of vassalage between the liege lord and the vassal. The union of the beneficiary tie and that of commendation created the feudal obligation. The lord granted the land and pledged his protection to the vassal; the vassal was bound by land tenure and fealty to be faithful to his lord and, in most cases, to follow him to war. Land tenure thus united all ranks into a social and graduated unity; all men from the serf to the highest vassal were connected with the land, all held mediately or immediately of the king. The feudal system was developed among all Teutonic kingdoms of longer duration.

211. Constitutional History. — Teutonic royalty was partly hereditary, partly elective; hereditary as to the royal family, elective as to the member of the family. The original nobility by birth had mostly perished in the many internal and external wars; the feudal system supplied their place by a ministerial or court-nobility composed of the vassals of the crown. Among such the Frankish mayors of the palace reached the highest power. Freemen could be tried in three courts, the king's court, the feudal court, and the local or count's court. The king (with the nobles he happened to have around him), being the liege of all vassals, the lord of immunities, and the head of all the freemen in the country, could try, not only on appeal but in first instance, all cases that were brought before him. The feudal lord judged his immediate vassals and tenants by a right, which he obtained with the fief from the king (feudal court — right of immunity). The local courts were held in one or more of the smaller communities, representing ten or a hundred freemen; local courts comprising larger districts were presided over by the count.

212. **Trials and Ordeals** — Every man was judged by his peers, that is, a number of assessors (schoeffen), the first of whom acted as judge. The form of trial was: (a) by the oath taken on relics, the gospel, the crucifix, or a sword blessed by a priest; (b) by oral witnesses or written testimonies; (c) if other proofs led to no decision the Ordeal, an appeal to the judgment of God, was resorted to. The ordeal by fire consisted in walking between two burning wood-piles, stepping over heated plough-shares, seizing and holding red hot objects. The ordeal by water consisted in plunging one's arm into boiling water or in being thrown into a basin of water; he who sank at once was considered innocent. The ordeal of freemen most frequently in use was the judicial combat. The ordeal rested on the belief that God would even miraculously save the innocent who had no other proof left in his defense. Ordeals (except the judicial combat) purged of their heathen associations were tolerated by the Church as lesser evils than perjury or the combat, because she found it impossible to abolish them. Many

cases of a visible interference of God in favor of the innocent are well attested.

213. The Ban. — In important breaches of the peace, the injured party was not bound to appeal to the court; he could have resort either to peaceful composition, or to the private feud, the revenge for bloodshed. But after he had appealed to a court he was bound to abide by its decision. If he obstinately refused to submit to the sentence, he was banned or outlawed. The ban pronounced in a lower court could be extended by the judge of a higher court over the district of his jurisdiction, and by the king over the whole kingdom. A fugitive under the ban could find refuge only in a church possessing the right of asylum. If he could not reach an asylum, his life was in the hands of his enemy or of the king. Perfidy to the king and the unlawful killing of game in the royal forest were punished with death; taking share in a conspiracy against the king with branding, mutilation, or exile; murderers were mutilated or sentenced to life-long serfdom; unjust judges had to undergo bodily punishments or imprisonment. Yet the punishment decreed by law could almost in all cases be redeemed by money fines.

Stubbs: *Constitutional History of England*, vol. I., ch. 1-7. — S. H. S. Maine: *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions.* — Phillips: *Anglo-Saxon Laws.* — F. Dahn: *Die Koenige der Germanen.* — Balmes: *Civilization of Europe.* — Ozanam: *Civilization Chrétienne.* — J. Bryce: *The Holy Roman Empire.* — Chas. Perin: *Christliche Politik.* — *Formulas for holding Ordeals:* Henderson, Sel. Hist. Docs.

§ 3.

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE.

214. Idea of the Christian State. — The Teutonic state system received a new character through the conversion of the Germanic kingdoms and the influence of the Church. The Christian idea controlling the society of the Middle Ages was derived from the truth, that the final and everlasting destiny of man is of the first importance and that human life on earth is but a passage to the life to come. The State in all its laws and institutions for the temporal and material welfare of society is bound to respect and favor this higher destiny of its subjects. The Catholic religion is the basis of the Christian State. Kings and princes have no higher duties than their obligations towards God and toward the Church, the embodiment of the Christian religion. Every subject in any one of the Catholic kingdoms is above all a member of the Church. The unity of religious faith and obedience binds together the different States

into one family of nations, one Christendom. This view, though often imperfectly carried out in practice or disregarded in special cases, was fully and universally recognized in the polity of the Middle Ages, and led naturally and without difficulty to a close alliance between the Church and the State. That the Church in things purely spiritual and ecclesiastical, and the State in all merely temporal matters were distinct, supreme, and independent each in its own sphere, was never questioned. But the State, instead of ignoring or opposing the Church as in modern times, assisted with its influence the action of the Church, and received in its own legitimate sphere the support of the Church.

215. **Co-operation of the Two Powers.** — The king, in heathen times a priest himself, was now anointed and crowned by the Church. This ceremony of religion imparted the last and highest sanction to his royal authority. Before his coronation the king made a public profession of faith and took the oath to rule justly and to protect the Church. The ranks of the nobility, having of course lost their share in the ancient priesthood, were filled up by the Archbishops and bishops (and later on the abbots), who became members of the royal comitatus, and ranked equally with the secular nobles. They received lands from the king as allods of the Church or fiefs of the crown, took the oath of fealty, had a seat and vote in the general assemblies, the diet-synods of the Visigoths and Franks and the witenagemots of the Anglo-Saxons, had their share in the election of the king, and by their superior knowledge and sacred character obtained a guiding influence on Teutonic legislation. In Teutonic legislation the canon of the General Council of Chalcedon, that imperial laws contradicting the laws of the Church, should be null and void, was maintained throughout. But whilst the Oriental bishops seldom prevailed on the Emperor to abstain from anti-ecclesiastical legislation, a necessity of such interference hardly ever arose in the Occident. Spanish synods confirmed or modified the edicts of the Catholic kings of the Visigoths; the decrees of English synods were assumed into the Dooms of Ina as a matter of course. Now and in later periods the bishops frequently were the best supporters of the king and the best protectors of the people against the lawlessness of nobles. The chief pastors of the Church were thus enabled to labor with greater advantage among the people and infuse a Christian spirit into legislation.

216. **Dangers of the System.** — On the other hand, this alliance of the representatives of the two powers could not fail to expose the ministers of the Church to a new and serious danger, considering the time and the circumstances in which it was effected. The wild and dissolute life of the Frankish kings, even after accepting Christianity, whose teachings but slowly and

gradually tamed the fierceness of the barbarians, and the anarchy accompanying the civil wars, greatly impaired the morality of the whole population of Gaul. The bishops were chosen from among the men of their time and infected with the prevailing evils. They became overwhelmed with worldly affairs and involved in contentions with their feudal tenantry. In these Merovingian times the monasteries were the chief refuge against the scandals of the world. The monks continued the apostolate of teaching and example among the people. From the monasteries, in due time, went forth the men who were called to work out a new reformation of manners.

217. **Policy of the Eastern Emperors.** — Instead of leaving decisions of faith to the Church, the Emperors, especially Zeno, Justinian I., Heraclius and their successors tried more and more to make their own formularies of faith the law of public belief. The eastern bishops were often only too ready to accept the interference of the Emperors. Those who resisted the fatal usurpation fared ill at the hands of the State. Under the tyranny of the Emperor who wanted to be king and pope in one person, patriarchs and bishops were deposed and replaced at will. The great Schism or falling away of the Eastern Church from the Church of Christ, towards which the Empire was gradually drifting, was the result of the insolence of imperial despotism and the servility of ambitious patriarchs.

Cardinal Hergenroether: *Church and State.* — T. W. Allies: *Church and State as seen in the Formation of Christendom.* — H. W. Wilberforce: *The Formation of Christendom.* — Mrs. Hope: *The Conversion of the Teutonic Race.* — Dr. G. Grupp: *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters, Cf.* also works at the end of the volume.

BOOK II.

THE RISE OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAROLINGIANS.

§ 1.

THE WARS OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

CHARLES THE GREAT,
768–814. Emperor 800–814.

Charles, King of Neustria, d. 811.	Pipin, King of Italy, d. 810.	**LEWIS THE PIOUS,** King of Aquitaine.
	Bernard, King of Italy (813–818).	

218. Pipin the Short, 752–768, and his Sons. — Under the reign of the Merovingians the Franks had accepted Catholicity. The Anglo-Saxon Winfrith-Boniface had succeeded in firmly uniting the Germans and Franks with the Holy See. On the confines of Gaul and Germany a new House of rulers had arisen, the Carolingians or Karlings, who, co-operating with the Popes, strengthened the influence of the Church and rose themselves to extraordinary power over the Teutonic nations of western and central Europe. Pipin the Short united all the conquests which had been made by Clovis and his successors. He died in 768, after dividing his realm between his two sons Charles and Karlmann. During the three years of their joint reign they were repeatedly on the verge of a quarrel. But an open

rupture was prevented by their mother Bertrada to whose pleadings they listened with filial reverence; all danger was removed by the early death of Karlmann, 771. His vassals, the bishops and nobles of Burgundy and Alamannia, paid homage to Charles as king of all the Frankish realms. To him Providence had assigned the task of consolidating the best results of the migration of nations, and of welding its many discordant elements into a strong Christian commonwealth. Seldom has the world seen a king more fitted by nature for ruling men than Charles the Great, and seldom has a born ruler found similar opportunity for displaying such powers.

219. Beginning of the Saxon Wars. — Charles had inherited from Pipin, his father, and Charles Martel, his grandfather, the duty of protecting Catholic Europe from the Saracens, the Slavs and the heathen Saxons, to push the outer defenses of Christendom into territories still sunk in paganism and savagery, to promote the conversion of the new subjects whom he might subdue, and to continue the temporal protectorate over the Church and the Holy See, which the Franks had assumed under Pipin the Short. His most difficult task was the conquest of the Saxons.

The Saxons, divided into Westphalians, Engrians, Eastphalians, and Transalbingians or dwellers beyond the Elbe, were the hereditary foes both of the Franks and of Christianity. Warfare with the Saxons was most difficult on account of the wildness of the country, the bravery of the Saxons, and the desperate tenacity with which they clung to their ancient liberty, religion and customary laws. For three hundred years they had defied the power of the Franks and maintained their boundaries. Every year the Saxon counties (gaus) sent delegates, representing the nobles, the freemen, and the lassi or freedmen, German settlers who had been subdued in earlier times, to a general assembly on the Weser to deliberate on peace and war; but they recognized no common government. Compared with the Saxon wars the other expeditions of Charles have the character of episodes. Whilst Charles invaded their territory, built fortresses and manned them with Frankish garrisons, introduced the military and judicial system of the Franks, built churches and founded missionary stations, the Saxons rose, as soon as he turned his back upon their country, destroyed his institutions, and carried their raids even into Frankish territory. Nine times they shook off

the foreign yoke and taxed the energy of the inflexible conqueror for twenty years, before he had the satisfaction of seeing Saxony submissive and Christian. In the Mayfield or general review of the army at Worms, 772, the conquest and conversion of the Saxons was resolved upon as necessary for the safety of the Frankish kingdom. That summer Charles entered Westphalia, stormed the Eresburg, destroyed the Irminsul, a tree or pillar sacred to either Odin or Herman near Paderborn, and forced the Engrians to give hostages. Difficulties in Italy called him to another scene of action.

220. **The Conquest of Lombardy and Its Causes, 773–776.** — Charles the Great, who in his younger years seems to have followed the lax Merovingian code of morality, dismissed in 770 his lawful wife, and married Desiderata, the daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius, notwithstanding the very strong remonstrance addressed to him by Pope Stephen III. The following year, probably induced by the Pope's opposition, he sent her back to her father. The repudiation of the Lombard princess put an end to the friendship which had hitherto existed between the two kings. At the same time Gerberga, Karlmann's widow, fled with her sons whom the nobles had excluded from the succession, to the court of Desiderius. Desiderius in his resentment was not unwilling to take up the cause of the boys. He requested Pope Hadrian I. to crown them kings of the Franks, and upon the Pope's refusal, invaded the Pentapolis and marched upon Rome. Hadrian I., seeing a great part of the Patrimony in the hands of the Lombards, appealed to the king of the Franks to come to the defense of the city and people of Rome.

Charles crossed the Alps in 773, outflanked the Lombards at Susa and Ivrea, laid siege to Pavia, and captured Verona, Brescia and Bergamo. As Pavia stoutly held its own, Charles, in the spring of 774, visited Hadrian I. in Rome, and not only confirmed the grant of Pipin, but added some new territories to the States of the Church. Hadrian named Charles Patrician of Rome in the same sense in which Stephen II. had conferred this dignity on Pipin the Short, viz., as Protector of the Holy See and its territory. On returning to his camp Charles found Pavia ready to surrender. Desiderius, the last native king of the Longobards, was sent to Neustria, and died many years after as a monk in the abbey of Corbey. Charles now assumed the title of "King of the Franks and the Longobards," 774. The Longobards, who as yet were allowed to retain their national laws and customs, looked upon

Charles as chosen by themselves, and Charles considered his Italian conquest — northern and central Italy save the States of the Church and Venetia — not as an extension of the kingdom of the Franks but as a new and separate crown won for the king. Southern Italy remained in the hands of the Byzantines. The fusion of the Longobards with the earlier inhabitants produced the character and language of the *Italians*.

News reaching him of a great Saxon rising under Widukind, duke of Westphalia, Charles hastened back to the North, stormed the entrenched camp at Sigiburg, and forced the Eastphalians, Engrians and Westphalians to pay homage and give hostages. These hostages were chiefly the sons of Saxon nobles who received a liberal education in the school of Charles the Great, 775.

221. Second Lombard War. — An insurrection of the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto and Benevento, supported by the court of Constantinople, whither Desiderius' son Adelchis had fled, recalled Charles to Italy, 775. With marvellous rapidity he crossed the Alps and suppressed the rising. He now abolished the constitution of the Lombards. He raised the political standing of the bishops and abbots, broke up the dukedoms into counties, and introduced the judiciary system and the military feudalism of the Franks. Only Benevento, where Charles never obtained a lasting power, retained its old organization, 775–76.

The Westphalians and Engrians availed themselves of the absence of Charles to rise, storm the Frankish camp at Eresburg and slaughter its garrison. Their attempt upon the camp at Sigiburg failed. But before the Saxons suspected that Charles had crossed the Alps, he was already in their midst. His presence alone cowed them into submission. Only Widukind refused to submit and fled to the Danes. Charles regarrisoned the fort at Eresburg and built a new fortified camp at Karlstadt. The following spring (777) he held a great national diet or Mayfield of Franks and Saxons at Paderborn, the heart of the Saxon country. A great multitude of the Saxons were baptized and swore to remain loyal to God and king Charles.

222. Charles' Spanish Expedition, 778. — It was at the diet of Paderborn that Charles received embassadors from two Arab chiefs of northeastern Spain (Ibn-al-Arabi and Ibn Jussuf), who refused to acknowledge the separate Caliphate of Abderrhaman the

Omiad, and offered their allegiance to Charles. Charles crossed the Pyrenees, subdued the country as far as the Ebro, and received the temporary homage of Moslem, Navarese and Basques. But on his march back the Basques attacked and nearly annihilated the rear guard of Charles's army in the passes of Roncesvalles. Here fell the hero Roland, a Frankish margrave of the Breton coast, celebrated in many medieval romances. It required, however, several other expeditions to secure this Spanish conquest.

223. New Saxon Wars. — Whilst Charles was fighting in Spain, Widukind returned from the North, and headed a formidable insurrection of the Saxons who demolished the churches, slew the priests, and harried and massacred the peasantry up and down the right bank of the Rhine. They were defeated by an army of Alamanni and East-Franks and a second time by Charles himself who devastated their country with fire and sword as far as the Weser (779) and the Elbe (780). The Saxons submitted and many thousand pagans allowed themselves to be baptized, ready to *wash off* in mockery the hated sacrament at the first favorable opportunity. In the interval of peace that followed (780–82), Charles increased the number of forts, put Frankish and Saxon nobles in charge over Saxon counties, laid out the country into missionary districts, the germs of future bishopries, and published a stringent code of laws against paganism. For the first time the Saxons had to follow Frankish generals against Slavonic tribes beyond the Saxon country. Widukind espied his chance. Returning from Denmark he inflamed the Saxon youth with his own love of liberty and hatred of Christianity. Everything Christian was destroyed. The Frankish army returning from its eastern expedition was defeated by Widukind on the Weser with terrible loss. But when Charles himself arrived on the scene with fresh forces, the Saxons again submitted without offering fight. The king now fully incensed took terrible reprisals; 4,500 Saxons, declared traitors by their own chiefs, were beheaded on one day at Verden. This severity caused a new war of three years in which for the first time the united Saxon strength met Charles in the open field. After an indecisive battle at Detmold the Saxons were completely routed near Osnabrück, 783. Two years more Widukind maintained

the hopeless struggle but finally lost faith in the power of his gods. He offered peace and asked for baptism. Charles himself became his godfather. With the conversion of Widukind began the real conversion of the Saxons, 782–85. A peace of eight years followed.

In subsequent years Charles established his power among the Obotrites, Sorbes, Wilzes and other Slavonic tribes, thus securing a boundary in the rear of the Saxons. These and kindred northern Slavs had gradually advanced from their seats east of the Vistula towards the Elbe, whenever the shifting of nations offered them a chance.

Local disturbances among the Saxons made Charles undertake another series of expeditions into their country (793–804), but these risings had ceased to be dangerous. The subdued Slavs loyally assisted the king against the rebels. The Danes, who had constantly aided and abetted the Saxons, were visited in several expeditions, the last one 810, commanded by Charles himself, and finally accepted the river Eider as boundary line. Internal measures helped to create an ordered administration of Saxony. Frankish vassals were planted in different parts of the country. Saxon nobles were assigned large fiefs in the midst of their kinships and followers. Former exceptional laws were replaced by the national customs, codified in the Law of the Saxons. The foundation of seven bishoprics more than any other measure, gave stability alike to the profession of Christianity and to the political institutions of Charles the Great.

224. Bavarian and Avaric Wars — Thassilo, duke of Bavaria, a disobedient and unruly vassal since the days of Pipin, urged on by his wife, a daughter of the deposed Desiderius, allied himself with his neighbors, the Turanian Avars, against Charles. The Bavarians themselves were indignant at this alliance with a heathen nation. Three armies of Charles entered Bavaria, and Thassilo had to swear fealty anew to the king. When Thassilo attempted a second rising, Charles sent him to end his days in a Neustrian monastery, broke up his dukedom into counties, and incorporated the Germans on the upper Danube with his empire, 787–88.

All the Teutonic people of central Europe were now under the scepter of Charles the Great. In the wars which followed he more and more entrusted the command to his sons, Charles, king in western Neustria, Pipin, king of Lombardy, and Lewis the Pious, king of Aquitaine and the Saracen borders. Pipin and Lewis had been crowned in Rome during Charles' second visit to the Pope, 781.— The Avars were the first to draw down their doom on themselves by invading Bavaria and the Lombard March of Friuli in 791.

Charles mustered the whole strength of the kingdom against them, stormed a number of "Avar rings" or fortified camps, and advanced to the Raab, but left the prosecution of the war to his generals and allies. In 996 his son, king Pipin, stormed the great ring of the Chakan between the Danube and the Theiss, and captured spoils so rich that silver throughout the kingdom sank one-third in value. The power of the Avars was broken. Their Chakan submitted, was baptized at his own request, paid tribute to Charles, and restrained his subjects from any further attacks upon the Bavarian or Italian borders. The conquered territory as far as the Raab became the Avaric or East March. Colonization by German and Bavarian settlers gave solidity to the acquisition. Slavonian nations, Bohemians, Moravians, Carinthians became the neighbors and tributaries of the Frankish kingdom. Arno the first Archbishop of Salzburg sent missionaries to the Slavs and Avars, and became their metropolitan. The Avars were swallowed up by the surrounding settlers and disappeared as a separate nation.

Charles' temporary conquest of northeastern Spain was secured by Lewis the Pious, king of Aquitaine, in a number of expeditions in which he was aided by his powerful vassal and captain, William, count of Toulouse. The whole country between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, with the strong cities of Barcelona, Pampeluna and Tarragona were permanently won for Christendom in the last ten years of Charles' reign, and formed into the Spanish March. The Saracens emigrated in a body and were replaced by Frankish and Visigoth settlers.

225. **Summary.** — Thus in a course of fifty-three military expeditions, Charles the Great more firmly established his power over southern Gaul and Celtic Brittany, reached Sicily, Corsica and the Balearic Islands in his warfare against the Arab pirates of Africa, gained the countries around the head of the Adriatic from the Eastern Empire, secured the independence of Venice by a treaty with Constantinople, destroyed the kingdom of the Avars, created a border-belt of Slavonic nations, more or less dependent upon the Franks, on the eastern frontier from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and united within the Eider, the Ebro, the Garigliano and the Raab all the German nations that had remained in their ancient seats, with all the Teutonic tribes on the Continent that had settled on Roman soil, into one Frankish monarchy. Yet, what made him greater still, was that he labored untiringly, every year of his reign, with resolution and deliberate purpose for the benefit of all classes in his vast dominions, and his power to do so was greatly

increased by the ever memorable act of St. Leo III., which raised Charles to a new form of imperial dignity.

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§ 2.

RENOVATION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

226. Imperial Coronation of Charles the Great, 800. — In 799 a bitter party strife broke out among the Roman nobles, in which St. Leo III., the successor of Hadrian, was cruelly maltreated and imprisoned by his enemies, the kinsmen of Hadrian I. Released by his friends, he fled to Paderborn to implore the protection of Charles. Frankish bishops and nobles accompanied the Pope back to Rome, where he was received with enthusiasm by the people. Charles the Great came the following year; the difficulties were settled, the evil-doers punished. On Christmas day, 800, when Charles was kneeling in silent prayer before the altar of St. Peter's, Leo placed a golden crown on his head, while the assembled people greeted the Frankish king with the joyful exclamation: God grant life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus crowned by God, the great and peace-giving Emperor of the Romans. Thus rose a power in Europe, old in name, but new in meaning, which under many vicissitudes was to be the political centre of Europe for the next thousand years. This event happened after the Emperors of the East had lost their protectorate over the Church by heresy and persecution, at a time when Constantinople was ruled by a woman and a usurper, the Empress Irene, who had obtained the crown by a series of crimes against her own son. The final separation of East and West was formally declared by the coronation of Charles the Great.

227. **Origin of the Catholic Empire.** — Charles did not owe his imperial elevation to conquest; he had entered Rome without opposition. He did not receive it from the Roman Senate; that body had long before lost its influential position. Leo III. acted neither as the instrument of Charles' policy,

nor as the agent of the Roman people, but as the Supreme Head on earth of the Catholic Church, conferring by his own act and impulse the protectorate of the Church and the guardianship of public right and order on Charles the Great. The Roman people *could* not give a protector to the universal Church, the Roman people were never asked thereafter about the coronation of a new Emperor. The acclamation of the people on Christmas day, 800, was the expression of joy over the elevation already accomplished. The same power which had appointed Charles and his father Patricians or Defenders of the Roman Church, gave now to Charles in the most solemn manner the temporal Protectorate over the *whole* Church.

228. Meaning of the Empire. — The coronation of Charles the Great was not an act of transferring the Empire from the Byzantines to the Franks, since the Emperors in Constantinopole retained their title and power, but the renovation, in a new form, of the Western Empire, which had been overthrown in 476. Pope, Emperor and contemporaries considered this new Empire the highest secular Protectorate over the Church, which conferred on the bearer not any new territorial power, but a supremacy of honor and dignity over the princes of Christendom. The Emperor was the president, as it were, in a senate or confederation of Christian sovereigns, the secular head of a family of Christian nations politically independent of each other, but co-operating in questions regarding the general interest of Christendom, as the Pope was the spiritual head of Christendom. The other kings and princes did not lose one inch of territory or one right of sovereignty by the institution of the Catholic Empire. The idea of the Empire generally recognized in the Middle Ages made it a duty of the Emperor, to protect Christendom against all enemies, to defend the Holy See, the Church and her ministers, to assist the Church in her legislative work and in the conversion of heathen nations by the secular arm, to protect the widows and orphans, the wronged and persecuted, and to act as the guardian of public justice and the peace-maker among Christian princes.

229. Relations Between Pope and Emperor. — The Pope was the sovereign and independent judge in matters of faith and morality, individual, social and political. The Emperor was sovereign and independent in all secular and purely political matters, the morality of the acts being supposed. In controverted questions which bordered on the domain of either, a solution was to be sought by mutual agreement.

The Pope retained his sovereignty over the States of the Church. As the Emperor, however, had to exercise his protectorate chiefly in the papal territory, the distracted state of the Roman nobility, or the violence of Italian princes, compelled him at times to exercise his jurisdiction as protector or advocatus ecclesiae, and to send imperial messengers (missi dominici) to hold courts in the Roman territory. The Romans had to swear fealty to the Pope as their sovereign and territorial lord and to the Emperor as the advocatus of the Church and the special protector of Rome. The mutual dependence between the Pope and the Emperor chiefly showed itself in the following points: (a) both mutually took an oath of fidelity and reverence specifically different from the oath of a subject or vassal to his sovereign or lord. (b) To enjoy the full title and power of the Empire, the Emperor had to be crowned by the Pope. (c) The Emperor exercised the right of recognizing a newly elected Pope. In ordinary cases this was done by the presence of an imperial ambassador at the election or inthronization of the Pope. By this act the Emperor acknowledged his duty to protect the newly elected Pope. The Emperor could not, however, reject a Pope canonically elected, but in the case of a violent or unlawful choice he could make arrangements for a new election.

Thus Leo III., by imposing a high and holy dignity upon Charles the Great, laid the foundation of the "Holy Roman Empire" (Imperium sacrum), which was further developed under Otto the Great, and gave form and character to the religious and secular life of the Middle Ages. Crowned and anointed by the supreme shepherd of all christians, princes and peoples as the sworn defender of the Church, of the Pontiff and the whole Christian society, the Emperor was enabled to exercise a moral power in Catholic Europe, which no feat of arms or successful conquests could have given him. "The great act of A. D. 800 in St. Peter's was the beginning of that intimate union between the Church and the State which in spite of many shortcomings must ever be considered the nearest realization of the true ideal relation between the two which the world has ever seen."

Books for Consultation. — Card. Hergenroether: *The Pope and the Holy Empire* in *Catholic Church and Christian States.* (London: Burns and Oates, v. II., p. 1; *The Holy See and Civil Allegiance*, v. I., p. 11; *The Church in the Germanic Kingdoms, ib.*, v. I., p. 255; *The Power of the Papacy, ibid.*, p. 273; *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. I., pp. 505–513. — R. Parsons: *The Revival of the Western Empire under Charlemagne: Studies*, v. II., p. 23. — Gosselin: *The Power of the Pope in the Middle Ages.* — Bryce: *Holy Roman Empire.* — Dr. Hoefler: *Kaiserthum und Papstthum.* — B. Niehues: *Kaiserthum und Papstthum; Geschichte des Verhaltnisses zwischen Kaiserthum und Papstthum im Mittelalter.* — B. Jungmann: *De Institutione et Natura sacri Romani Imperii*, v. III., Dissert. 15, p. 168. — Bellarminus: *De Translatione Imperii Romani a Graecis ad Francos.*

§ 3.

STATESMANSHIP OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

230. Promotion of Religion. — To strengthen the Church in Saxony, Charles founded seven bishopries among the Saxons, and made a part of Saxony tributary to the patrimony of St. Peter. He zealously promoted the reformation of the clergy. Bishops and clergymen were no longer allowed to go to war, except to hold field services and to administer the sacraments. Charles insisted that the Holy See and the clergy should be honored and obeyed throughout the Empire. At the head of the imperial Chapel, i. e. the clergy belonging to the court, stood the Archchaplain, through whom all church affairs were laid before the Emperor. The Chapel became a seminary of worthy bishops and prelates. Charles maintained a system of tithes to defray the expenses of divine worship, to build churches, to support the clergy, to assist travelers, widows and orphans, and to succor poor churches in foreign parts.

To be able to pay the tithes, the Saxons were freed from all other taxes. Charles' generous alms went not only to the poor within his dominions but to the Christians living under Moslem domination in Syria, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Carthage and Spain. Owing to his world-wide renown, his ambassadors at the different Moslem courts obtained many favors for the Christians. A friendly intercourse confirmed by mutual gifts existed between Charles the Great and Haroun al Rashid, the greatest of the Caliphs of Bagdad.

231. Education, Literature and Art — To promote education Charles called the best scholars of his time from Italy, England and Ireland, and became himself their most eager pupil. His palace school (schola palatina) was the most renowned educational institution in the West; there sons of noble Franks and hostages of dependent nations studied with his own children and under his personal supervision. In the great episcopal sees and in all the monasteries schools were set up in which rich and poor were educated free of expense; even primary schools connected with parish-houses owed their existence to his zeal for education. The branches taught were the seven liberal arts, the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, logic) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music including poetry). Even Hebrew and Arabic were studied in some of the monastic schools. Charles continued St. Boniface's work of unifying the different dialects into one national German language; the mighty Emperor himself composed with Alcuin's aid a German grammar. Under his fostering care numerous copies of Holy Writ, Roman and Greek

classical authors, the old heroic epics of the Franks and other German tribes, biographies, chronicles and works of secular history were collected, copied or originally composed and multiplied by the monks. The greatly increased list of learned men in the period succeeding Charles' death, such as Hinckmar of Rheims, St. Paschasius Radbertus and Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz, both of Corbey, Walafrid Strabo, Notker of St. Gall, Hermann of Reichenau, was chiefly the fruit of these new schools.

We find at the court of Charles, among others, Paul the Deacon, the historian of the Lombards, Peter of Pisa, Eginhard, the friend and biographer of Charles, Clement of Ireland, and foremost among them, the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, the great scholar from York and abbot of St. Martin of Tours, who was the most trusted adviser of Charles in his educational work. In the winter months spent at Aachen, they formed a literary circle around the Emperor and his family to discuss all manner of subjects. Charles expressed himself forcibly in German, spoke Latin fluently, understood some Greek, and was a constant reader of the great work of St. Augustine, "the City of God," which he carried with him in all his campaigns. He was well skilled in reading aloud, singing to the harp, and instructing others in these arts. Italian choir-masters were employed by him to instruct the churchmen of the North in the Gregorian chant.

Charles was a great builder. The splendid cathedral of Aachen, designed by himself and adorned with columns and marbles from Rome and Ravenna, the three royal palaces at Aachen, Nymwegen and Engelheim, the canal joining the Rhine and the Danube and the magnificent Rhine bridge at Mainz testify to his interest in building and engineering.

232. Legislation. — The national customs of the Frisians, Saxons and Thuringians were collected in Latin codes, like the Lex Salica. Imperial legislation, however, ranked higher than the personal or tribal laws of the different nations. Charles the Great understood and acted upon the principle of civilized order, that no human law contradicting the law of God can bind the conscience, and that the customary claims of individuals or tribes must give way to the public interest and the common good. He recognized the authority of the Church to judge any question touching on the morality of human acts. Returning from his coronation, he ordered a revision of all existing laws for the purpose of eliminating any ordinance which might be opposed to the law of God. The Capitularies or enactments of the Frankish diets or mixed councils everywhere acknowledge the laws of God and of the Church. These diets or general assemblies were of a deliberative character, and composed of the bishops, abbots (dukes), counts, margraves and the prominent members of the king's personal following. They met

twice a year, in May, in connection with the Mayfield or general review of the army, and in autumn. They were divided into two chambers, that of the spiritual and that of the temporal lords. Each chamber deliberated separately on matters belonging exclusively to its province, jointly on mixed matters. The spiritual lords, equal with the secular nobles in social position founded on land tenure, and superior to them by their learning and sacred character, had a paramount influence on legislation. The capitularies were sometimes issued by the king and then laid before the bishops to receive synodal authority, at other times the bishops enacted decrees in regular synods, which were afterwards promulgated in the form of capitularies as imperial laws.

The 572 capitularies of the sixty-five diets held in the reign of Charles the Great cover every branch of legislation, religious, civil, political, economic, penal; they exhibited the manifold relations of the Church with Christian princes, the rights and duties of the feudal system, the conferment of benefices and endowments in Church and State, the encouragement of learning, the management of imperial domains, the law of tithes, etc., descending to the most minute details, such as the planting of fruit trees, flowers vegetables and medicinal herbs.

233. Constitution and Administration. — Charles was the commander-in-chief of the nation in arms. In addition to the ancient German right of the War-lord, every soldier of the army was mediately or immediately bound to him by the feudal tie. To expeditions, in which he took no personal share, he appointed the commanders, frequently tribal chiefs, who for the time of the war had the name and power of dukes, though it was his policy to break up the great national dukedoms into counties to prevent his vassals from becoming too powerful. Poor freemen were dispensed from personal service in the army. With inexorable rigor the great Emperor protected the small landowners and the poor in general against encroachments on the part of his vassals and counts. The Marches or Marks, i. e., frontier counties, were in the charge of margraves (markgraf) who enjoyed extensive powers, and were appointed from among the bravest and most faithful nobles. The markmen, usually Frankish vassals of tried fidelity, formed a military colony or standing army for the defense of the frontiers, and were exempt from any other military service. — The inland counties

(gaus) were administered by counts. Frankish counts and other vassals were scattered through all the parts of the Empire, though native nobles were by no means excluded. All the counts were installed or dismissed by the king and administered civil and military jurisdiction in his name. Two royal or imperial messengers (missi dominici), a bishop and a count, with ample powers from the king, were sent out into every part of the kingdom four times a year to hold courts and generally to inspect, examine, reform, report, and thus to bring the whole kingdom under the personal superintendence of Charles. All judicial cases, requiring a decision in the highest instance, came before the king and his immediate assistants through the Count Palatine, the highest secular officer of the court.

The many real estates or domains scattered over the realm were called Palatinates (Pfalzen from palatium, palace). Each palatinate had its own count palatine or palsgrave.

The king with his assistants judged the nobles, but could pass sentence in any lower court through the royal messengers. In the count's court seven assistants or schoeffen had to be present. They were chosen for life from the freemen of their district by the count or royal messenger upon the recommendation of the community. The great ding or district court open to every freeman was held three times a year.

234. **Character of Charles the Great.** — Charles the Great was tall and robust, commanding in face and figure, an untiring worker, temperate in food and still more in drink, cheerful in temper, steadfast and terrible in battle, gentle, condescending and faithful to his friends. His faculties were harmoniously developed; he was equally great as a conqueror, a lawgiver, a social organizer and a promoter of religion and piety. He loved power for the good it enabled him to do, but he was free from personal ambition. The glittering and easy prize of the Eastern Empire was no temptation to him, he preferred to hammer away at the Saxons, Saracens and Avars in the service of Christ and his Church, and never unsheathed his sword in a lower cause. Charles as a Frank was purely Teutonic, a thorough Austrasian in blood, ideas and tastes. His residences were situated, and all his Mayfields held, as far as we know, in the Austrasian part of Frankland. France in the modern sense of the word did not yet exist. Francia was then a small county around Paris.

235. Death of Charles the Great. — In the diet of Aachen, 813, Charles appointed his son Lewis the Pious his successor, and

his grandson Bernard, king of Italy. The great Emperor died at Aachen after receiving the last sacraments, 814. Although for a time his private life had been disedifying to his subjects, it is certain that long before he died he repented, and led a holy life. He was entombed, sitting on a marble throne, dressed in his imperial robes, with his sword and his book of the gospels on his knees, in the vault of the cathedral which he had built in his favorite city. The work of Charles was not lost in the anarchy that followed; his reign laid the foundations, overlaid for a time with ruins but not destroyed, whereon men continued for many generations to build.

Dr. J. Jannsen: *Karl der Grosse.* — Alphonse Vétault: *Charlemagne.* — J. B. Mullinger: *The Schools of Charles the Great and the Restoration of Education in the Ninth Century.* — *The Schools of Charles the Great:* E. R., '80, 1, p. 380; Month, '79, 3, p. 164. — Mrs. Hope: *The Conversion of the Teutonic Race*, v. II.; *Charlemagne*, ch. 24, p. 262: *Learning and Education*, p. 282. — Ozanam: *Civilization Chrétienne.* — Adams: *Civilization during the Middle Ages.* — West: *Alcuin.* — Phillips: *Karl der Grosse im Kreise der Gelehrten.* — Cramer: *Geschichte der Erziehung.* — Von Raumer: *Einwirkung des Christenthums.* — *The Capitularies of Charles the Great in Pertz; Monumenta Hist. Germ.*, v. III.; *Translations and Reprints* (Pens. University); *Capitulary of 802:* Henderson: *Sel. Hist. Docs.* — *Salic Law:* Henderson: *Ibid.* — *Formulas for Holding Ordeals in Carol. Times:* Henderson: *Ibid.* — G. Waitz: *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (Classical work on the German Constitution). — Abel und Simon: *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter Karl d. Gr.* — Godefroid Kurth: *Les Origines de la Civilisation Moderne;* also St. v. 32, p. 105.

§ 4.

LEWIS THE PIOUS AND HIS SONS.

236. The House of Charles the Great.

CHARLES THE GREAT, 1st EMPEROR. 800–814.

1. Irmengard m. **LEWIS THE PIOUS,** 814–840. **2d EMPEROR,** 816–840. m. 2. Judith,

LOTHAR I., K. of Italy, 818, Joint Emperor, 823. **3d EMPEROR, 840-855.**	Pipin, K. of Aquitaine, d. 838.	Ludwig, the German K. of Bavaria.	**CHARLES THE BALD,** K. of Alamannia and Burgundy.
King of the Middle Franks.	Pipin the Younger, disinherited *After the Treaty of Verdun,* 843:	King of the East Franks.	King of the West Franks. **5th EMPEROR,** 875–77.

237. Earlier Reign of Lewis the Pious. — Lewis the Pious, king of Aquitaine, succeeded his father, and was crowned Emperor at Rheims by Stephen IV., 816. He earned his title by the singularly virtuous life which he led. Had his strength of will been equal to his piety, his reign would have assumed a more fortunate complexion. With a view to preserving the unity of the Empire by the supremacy of the first-born, he made Lothar king of Italy, and designated him co-emperor with the right of succeeding to the bulk of the Carolingian inheritance. This measure displaced Bernard from the Lombard throne. Pipin and Ludwig the German received smaller dependent kingdoms, the former Aquitaine, the latter Bavaria, 817. Lothar assumed the imperial title when he was crowned by Pope Paschal (823), and ruled chiefly in Italy. For sixteen years Lewis the Pious reigned in the spirit of his father. His only grave offense in this period, and in fact of his life, was the cruel treatment (blinding) which he allowed his counsellors to inflict on Bernard, ex-king of Italy, because he had rebelled against the appointment of Lothar.

238. The Family War. The Lügenfeld. — At a time when the Northmen began to visit with fire and sword the estuaries of the northern and middle, and the Spanish Saracens those of the southern coasts of the Empire, and the Slavs were keeping the eastern frontiers in constant unrest, a scandalous family war broke out in the very heart of the Empire. After the death of his first wife, Lewis the Pious had married Judith, the highly accomplished daughter of Welf, count of Altdorf. The anxiety of the Emperor to provide for young Charles, Judith's son (Charles the Bald), made him change the order of succession, create a new kingdom of Alamannia and Burgundy, and assign it to Charles the Bald, 829. The elder sons arrayed themselves against their father. At Rothfeld, near Colmar, since called Lügenfeld (Field of Lies), the Emperor was abandoned by his army and became the prisoner of his sons. Lothar and a number of Neustrian bishops deposed him at Soissons, made him perform a public penance and remanded him to monastic confinement in the abbey of St. Médard, 833.

239. New Division of the Empire, 839. — Public opinion declared itself against this indignity. The Austrasians and Saxons,

always loyal to Lewis the Pious, rose in his favor. Ludwig the German too declared for his father. To escape the threatening storm, Lothar hastily withdrew to Italy. Lewis was once more Emperor, and showed himself merciful — all too merciful to his baffled enemies. The period of internal peace which followed was once more interrupted by the Emperor's weakness in favoring the demands of Judith and her son. Another division of the Empire in 839 gave to Ludwig the German only Bavaria, whilst the rest of the inheritance was divided between Lothar and Charles the Bald. Pipin the Younger, the son of Pipin of Aquitaine, was passed over in the division. It was now Ludwig the German who rose in arms against his father. Before a decision could be reached, however, Lewis the Pious, greater in suffering than in doing, died in 840.

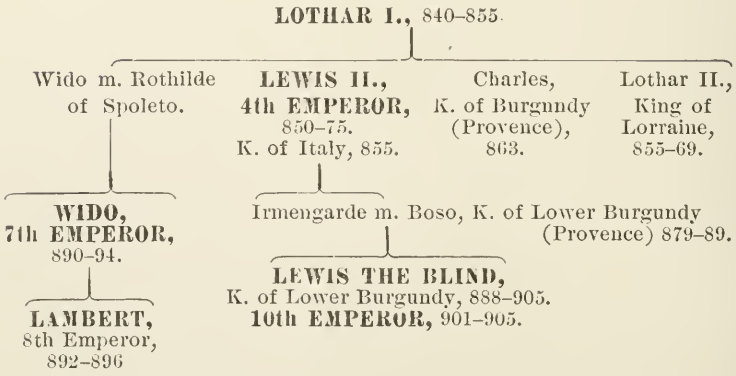
240. The Treaty of Verdun.— The swords of the brothers, formerly turned against the father, now turned against each other. Lothar fought for unity and supremacy, Ludwig, now allied with Charles, for the division of the Empire. In the terrible battle of Fontenoy, 841, Lothar was totally defeated. The nobles demanded a cessation of hostilities. In the treaty of Verdun, 843, Lothar was recognized as Emperor, and obtained a long strip of land reaching from Friesland to Italy and Provence. The inhabitants were partly of German, partly of Romance nationality, in about equal proportion. The purely German territory to the east of this kingdom was assigned to Ludwig the German, the lands of the Romanizing West to Charles the Bald. The kingdom of Lothar soon came to be called Lotharingia or Lorraine (Lotharii regnum), and retained the character of a border land. The Treaty of Verdun traced the broad lines of the future kingdoms of Germany, France and Italy; its results last to the present day.

G. Masson: *Charlemagne and Carlovingians.*— E. A. Freeman: *The Franks and the Gauls*, Hist. Essays, 1st series, No. 17.— E. F. Henderson: *Division of the Empire of 817;* Treaty of Aix (Meersen) 870: *Select. Hist. Docs. of the Middle Ages.*— E. Emerton: *Mediaeval Europe*, 814–1360.— Sergeant: *The Franks.*— P. Godwin: *Hist. of France; Ancient Gaul*, ch. 18.

§ 5.

THE LAST REUNION AND THE LAST DIVISION OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE.

241. House of Lothar I.



242. Death of Lothar I. — Nearly all the later members of the Carolingian House were constantly plotting or fighting to increase their power at the expense of their brothers and nephews. Despairing of the task of bringing order out of the chaos of the time, Lothar I. divided his domains between his three sons, and retired to the monastery of Prüm, where he died in 855. Charles of Burgundy was the first to follow him to the grave, and the surviving brothers divided his portion.

243. Lewis II. — Lewis II. was crowned Emperor by Leo IV. in 850. His warfare was chiefly with the Arabs. Saracen pirates from northern Africa had conquered Sicily (827); their fleets ravaged the coasts of Italy, entered the Tiber and threatened even Rome. Lewis II. defeated them in several battles but could not prevent them from gaining a firm hold in Calabria; while the Longobard dukes of Apulia allied themselves with the Byzantine power in southern Italy. Whilst Lewis the lawful heir of Lothar II. was thus fighting the Mohammedans, his uncles Ludwig the German, and Charles the Bald, divided his inheritance of Lorraine by the Treaty of Meersen, 870, Ludwig taking the German, and Charles the Latinized por-

tion. This was another step towards the separation of the German and French nationalities and languages.

244. The Papacy and the Empire. — The peace between the Papacy and the Empire was fairly well preserved during the ninth century. Difficulties arose at times, because the Emperors on the one hand, and the municipal authorities or the nobles of Rome on the other strove to enlarge their respective powers to the detriment of the Papal sovereignty. But these difficulties were settled without serious clash between the two powers, the more so, as a succession of excellent Popes occupied the See of St. Peter till the death of Formosus (896). St. Leo IV. (847–855) fortified the Vatican hill against Saracen invasions and thus added a new, the Leonine city to ancient Rome. He built a navy against the Saracens and accompanied his land army to Ostia, where the Mohammedans were completely defeated. St. Nicholas I. the Great (858–67), the most eminent Pope since Gregory I., vindicated the authority of the Apostolic See against the schismatical tendencies of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, upheld the sanctity of the moral law against the immorality of Lothar II., decided the gravest questions concerning faith and discipline with fearless rectitude, strengthened the newly-converted Chazares, Moravians and Bulgarians in their faith, and made the Holy See an asylum for all who suffered injustice. In a time of anarchy and dissolution, Nicholas I. was feared by bad princes, supported by public opinion, and venerated by the people.

With the connivance of his bishops, Lothar II. had rejected his lawful wife Theutberga to marry Waldrada. Nicholas deposed two Archbishops, rescinded the decrees of four synods, compelled his own legates who had been bribed by Lothar to annul their decisions, excommunicated Waldrada and threatened to ban the king himself. Lothar externally submitted to Nicholas and his successor Hadrian II., but continued his evil life. On his return from a journey to Pope Hadrian whom he deceived by false presentations, the king and his equally guilty retinue were seized by a malignant fever, and miserably perished near Piacenza. The consensus of the age saw in the event a judgment of God.

John VIII., equally great as statesman, lawgiver and pontiff, in a time of hopeless confusion, maintained, though under growing difficulties, the prestige of the Holy See. While even Christian princes

allied themselves with the Saracens and shared their rapacity in the southern half of Italy, John for a time stood almost alone in the defense of the poor people, and spared no pains to alleviate their sufferings.

245. The House of Charles the Bald.

Lewis the Pious.

CHARLES II. THE BALD, 5th EMPEROR, 875–77. — Gisela m. Eberhard of Friuli.

Charles, King of Aquitaine, 866–84. — Lewis II. the Stammerer, K. of the West Franks, 877–79. — **BERENGAR,** K. of Italy, 887. **11th EMPEROR,** 915–924.

Lewis III, 879–882, Carloman, 879–884, Joint kings of the West Franks. — Charles the Simple (born after his father's death), King of the West Franks at Laon, 899.

Charles the Bald was crowned Emperor by John the VIII., in 875. His reign both as Emperor and as king of West Frankland was deplorably weak and ineffective. To deprive his brother and his nephews of their possessions seemed to be his only aim. Instead of fighting the Northmen he bought them off, and thereby whetted their appetite. Unable to defend his subjects against their ever-increasing assaults, he had to see his royal power dwindle away under the rapid extension of feudalism. To obtain protection, free-holders handed over their lands to powerful nobles and received them back as fiefs. Men who had no landed property, surrendered themselves to some lord as dependents or even as serfs to save themselves from starvation. In his helplessness Charles had to make two concessions to the Frankish nobles, both equally ruinous to the royal power: the right of electing the king and binding him down to conditions, and the hereditary transmission of the great royal fiefs. Eleven years after his death this right of election was turned against the Carolingian House. His attempt to conquer Lorraine not only failed, but the sons of Ludwig the German won the whole kingdom for West-Frankland.

246. House of Ludwig the German.

Ludwig the German (840–876).

Karlmann, K. of Bavaria, K. of Italy since 877. d. 880.	**LUDWIG III.,** d. 882. K. in Saxony.	**CHARLES III. THE FAT, 6th EMPEROR,** 881–87. King of all Franks, 884. Abdicated 887. Died 888.

ARNULF OF CARINTHIA, 9th EMPEROR, 896–99. K. of the East Franks, 887–899.

Zwentibold, K. of Lorraine.	Ludwig the Child, K. of the East Franks, 900–911.

In East Frankland the vassals had still their ministerial character as officers of the kingdom. The king was the king of the people, and the free communities retained a part at least of their ancient rights. Ludwig the German laid the first foundations of Germany as a national kingdom. During his long reign Saxons and Franconians, Bavarians and Alamanni or Suabians, as they began to be called, learned to regard themselves as a nation apart, not merely as provinces of the Frankish Empire.

247. St. Cyril and Methodius in Moravia. — Ludwig the German, apart from the constant family wars, had to fight with the Slavonic nations on the eastern frontiers, the Wends, Sorbes, Moravians and other tribes that had occupied the former seats of the Avars. For twenty years the Moravians resisted or defeated the Frankish armies, gained their independence, and made the Bohemians tributaries. The Greek missionaries SS. Cyril and Methodius, the apostles of the Slavs, under the authority and guidance of Nicholas I. and Hadrian II. organized the Church among the Moravians. Cyril invented an alphabet (the Kyrilliza), which was accepted by the chief Slavonian nations; he also translated the Bible and liturgical books into the native tongue, thus becoming the founder of Slavonic literature. Through Methodius Christianity entered Bohemia.

248. Last Reunion of the Empire. — In the ten years that followed the death of Charles the Bald, king after king was swept away by an untimely death, six of them without leaving a legitimate heir. In 879 the nobles of Lower Burgundy elected count Boso,

the son-in-law of Lewis II. as king of Arles. It was the first kingdom torn away from the Empire of Charles the Great. By 884 only Charles the Fat, son of Ludwig the German, and Charles the Simple, a mere child, the youngest grandson of Charles the Bald, were left of the legitimate Carolingian heirs. East and West Franks united in recognizing Charles the Fat, who had been crowned by John VIII. in 881. Once more in 884 the Empire of Charles the Great was united with the exception of Boso's little kingdom. But the inability of the weak and sickly Emperor to control his turbulent vassals, to prevent the defection of the Slavonic nations, and to cope with the terrible invasion of the Northmen, lost him the crown. Arnulf of Carinthia raised the standard of rebellion. The nobles of East Frankland abandoned Charles in the diet of Tribur, and paid homage to Arnulf. Charles abdicated in his favor, and retired into private life, 887. He died the following year.

249. Last Division of the Frankish Empire, 887. — The Empire of Charles the Great broke up on national lines into five kingdoms: (1) The kingdom of the East-Franks who chose Arnulf of Carinthia. (2) The kingdom of the West-Franks, where a powerful party set aside the claims of Charles the Simple, the son of Louis the Stammerer, and elected Odo of Paris for his gallant warfare against the Northmen. Odo of Paris paid homage to Arnulf, 888. (3) The kingdom of Italy where Berengar I., Margrave of Friuli, was chosen by the nobles and paid homage to Arnulf. (4) The kingdom of Upper Burgundy between the Alps and the Jura, where the nobles elected a Welfic prince, Rudolf I. He paid homage to Arnulf at Ratisbon, 888. (5) The kingdom of Lower Burgundy (Provence) was left by Boso to his son, Louis the Blind.

E. A. Freeman: *Historical Geography of Europe*, ch. 6. — B. Jungmann: *De Pontificibus et Imperatoribus saeculi noni*, v. III., Dissert. 15, p. 192. On the case of Lothar II., p. 233, etc. — A. Lapôtre, S. J.: *L'Europe et le Saint Siége a l'époque Carolingienne* (part 1, *Conversion of Bulgarians and Moravians;* SS. Cyril and Methodius; part 2, *Western Empire.*) — A. Lapôtre: *L'Europe, etc.; Le Pape Jean VIII.* — *Cyrill und Methodius:* Stimmen, '82, pp. 38, 112, 400. — Ernst Dümmler: *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches* (vol. 1, *Ludwig the German, 860;* v. 2, *Ludwig the German, 860-76;* vol. 3, *The Last Carolingians; Conrad I.* — Oman: *Europe.* — On the exploded fable of the Popess Joan, who was said to have succeeded St. Leo IV. see R. Parsons: Studies, v. II., p. 40. — J. v. Doellinger: *Papstfabeln.* — Ch. Barthélemy: *Erreurs et Mensonges Historiques 1*, v. 1: *La Papesse Jeanne*, p. 1. — The best critical history of the *origin* of the fable is found in Hergenroether: *Photius*, v. II. There is no room between St. Leo IV. and Benedict III. to fit in the imaginary creature.—On the general history of the period see other works quoted in this chapter.

§ 6.

THE LAST CAROLINGIANS IN GERMANY.

250. Arnulf of Carinthia, 887–899. The Magyars. — Arnulf of Carinthia secured the tenure of the crown by a lavish distribution of crown domains. He renewed the war against the Moravians, and contributed to the dissolution of their kingdom. Moravia was divided by factions and fiercely attacked since 894 by a new enemy, the Magyars under Arpad, the son of Almus. The Magyars or, as they were called by the Slavs, the Hungarians, belonged to the Finnish Turanian race, had come from the regions of the Ural, had lately fought in the service of the Eastern Empire against the Bulgarians, and had found their way into Pannonia. They arrived in the basin of the Danube, the former seat of the Huns and the Avars, to the number of some million souls comprising 216,000 fighting men. They were a vigorous nation of warriors, well trained and disciplined, and united as one man, with a deep-rooted passion for adventure and plunder, and wholly devoid of pity for age or sex. They left no trace of a vanquished people in their midst, but occupied the country as a compact body. Still they were not entirely uncivilized. Whilst worshiping the forces of nature as spirits, they believed in a Supreme Deity and in the immortality of the soul. They were divided by Arpad, the founder of their dynasty, into eight tribes, and these again subdivided into family groups. Tribes and families held their respective territory in common. In the choice of their chieftain they recognized no right of the first-born, but the fittest member within the House of Arpad was chosen by election or acclamation. The head of the state was assisted by a supreme court and a general assembly of nobles and freemen, which formed a check upon the growth of despotism. This powerful nation defeated the Moravians on the eastern frontiers, whilst Arnulf attacked and weakened their realm from the West.

In Italy, Berengar I. was attacked and defeated by an opposition party headed by the duke of Spoleto. Wido of Spoleto was crowned Emperor by Stephen V., 891, and his son Lambert co-emperor by Pope Formosus in 892. To protect the Church against the tyranny of Wido, Formosus was compelled to call Arnulf to Italy. After a short campaign in Upper Italy, 894, Arnulf

in 895 marched to Rome, where the Pope was kept a prisoner by the party of Spoleto, delivered the Pontiff from the castle of St. Angelo, and was crowned Emperor, 896. He returned, however, to Germany, without having been able to exert any further influence in Italy.

251. **Ludwig the Child, 900–911, and the Magyars.** — Ludwig the Child, though only five years of age, was elected from a sense of fear that the kingdom would fall asunder, if a non-Carolingian were chosen king. Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, a man of eminent talents and iron energy, was appointed regent. The bishops, who saw in the unity of the kingdom the only safeguard against the Hungarians, the only guarantee for better times, were the chief supporters of the weak king.

In 906 the Hungarians destroyed the Moravian kingdom. Princes and people, churches, monasteries and cities, became the prey of the heathen. The following year they devastated German territory and inflicted a great defeat at Pressburg on the Bavarian forces, and again at Augsburg in 911 under Toltan, the son and successor of Arpad. The Hungarians became for half a century a terror to western Europe; Germany, Upper and Middle Italy, the two Burgundies, France, were, year after year, overrun by their hordes with fire and sword. On their fleet horses they became most dangerous, when they seemed defeated. In their wildest flight they suddenly turned around in perfect order to send a volley into the ranks of their pursuers. Under the pressure of these invasions Feudalism spread rapidly in Germany. The strong built castles, the weak became their vassals or serfs, or took shelter under the crozier, commending themselves and their land to episcopal sees and monasteries. The counts and margraves turned their delegated authority into independent authority, their personal into territorial power.

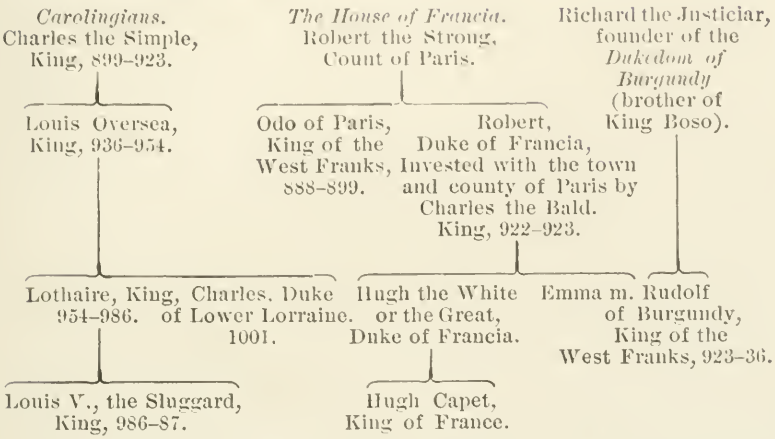
Out of the feuds of the nobles, under a weak king, and amidst constant invasions, rose towards the end of Ludwig's reign the dukedoms of Saxony with Thuringia, Bavaria, Lorraine; Alamannia or Suabia was on the point of becoming a dukedom; Lorraine fell off to the West-Franks; foremost among the German princes stood Conrad of Franconia and Otto the Illustrious of Saxony.

J. G. MacLeod, *The Magyars, The Dynasty of Arpad*, M. '78, 2, p. 413. — A. J. Patterson: *The Magyars.* — R. G. Latham: *Ethnology of Europe*, ch. 11. — E. Izabad: *Hungary, Past and Present.* — Sir F. Palgrave: *Hist. of Normandy and England*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 3; v. 2, p. 656, etc. — A. W. Grübe: *Heroes of History and Legend*, ch. 8. — Giesebrecht: *Geschichte der Kaiserzeit*, vol. I.

§ 7.

THE LAST CAROLINGIAN KINGS OF THE WEST FRANKS.

252. The Rival Houses.



After the death of Odo of Paris, 899, Charles, unfairly called the Simple, was recognized as king of the West-Franks. There were now two rival families in the kingdom contending for supremacy, the Carolingians and the dukes of France. The Carolingians resided at Laon, the dukes of France at Paris. The royal power was almost extinguished by the hereditary feudal nobility, the freedom of the lower orders was destroyed, the tillers of the soil were defenseless against the warring lords, since no king was strong enough to keep order. The great men of the kingdom, the dukes of France, of Burgundy, of Aquitaine, of Normandy (since 911), the counts of Vermandois, Flanders, Toulouse, were practically independent princes. The Carolingians had henceforth to fight for their kingdom with their great nobles, by whose jealousy rather than by their own exertions they maintained a lease of power. Robert, duke of France, rose against Charles and was crowned at Rheims, 922, but fell at Soissons, 923. His party raised his son-in-law, Rudolph, of the *Ducal House of Burgundy*, founded by a brother of Boso, to the rival throne. Charles, after another period of active but fruitless conflict, perished in the prison of his treacherous vassal Herbert of Vermandois.

253. **Louis Oversea, 936-54.** — When Rudolph died in 936, Louis Oversea, or the Stranger, with the connivance of Hugh the Great, was called from England, where with his mother Aedgifu he had found an asylum at the court of his uncle, king Aethelstan, and was crowned at Laon. He spent an unquiet reign of eighteen years in fruitless efforts to shake off the turbulent power of the great nobles. When he fell out with Hugh the Great, it

required the whole power of the Church, and the armed interference of Germany, to compel the proud duke of Paris once more to pay homage to Louis the Stranger (950).

254. Lothaire, 954–86.—Louis' son, Lothaire, inherited and held the kingdom on the same terms as his father, with much fighting, amidst much crime and intrigue, and under the informal protectorate of Hugh of Paris.

255. Louis V. the Sluggard, 986–87. Election of Hugh Capet.—Lothaire's son Louis V. was the last reigning Carolingian (986–87). His uncle Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine, was excluded from the succession because he had become a vassal of Germany. The nations or states assembled at Senlis, elected by acclamation Hugh Capet, the son of Hugh the Great, the ancestor of the longest line of kings ruling in Europe. Charles of Lower Lorraine took Laon, 988, by surprise, and lost it by treason. He died at Orleans in the prison of Hugh Capet.

Lavisse: *General View of the Political Hist. of Europe*, ch. 3.—G. W. Kitchin: *History of France.*—Emerton: *Introduction to the Study of the M. A.*—Sir F. Palgrave: *Normandy and Engl.*, vols. 1 and 2.—*Carolingians*, H. P. B., v. 53, p. 874.—Reumont: Gregorovius: *Histories of the City of Rome.*

§ 8.

ITALY AND THE BURGUNDIES. FACTIONAL WARS.

256. Civil Wars in Italy.—The feudal nobles of Italy pursued the policy of raising rival candidates to the throne in order to enlarge their own private powers and privileges by playing off one king against the other. When Berengar I. lost his prestige a second time by his inability to defend Italy against the Hungarians in 899, a faction of nobles invited Lewis, king of Lower Burgundy, and he was crowned king of Italy at Pavia, 900. Benedict IV., the following year, crowned him Emperor. Berengar, however, drove him from Italy under a sworn promise not to return. Returning nevertheless in 905, Louis was made prisoner by Berengar and deprived of his sight. For more than twenty years the blind Emperor ruled his kingdom of Burgundy through count Hugo, a grandson of Lothar II.

257. Berengar I.—Berengar I. was at last crowned Emperor by John X., 915, and fought in the league of Italian princes organized and led by this energetic Pope, who forever dislodged the Saracens from their stronghold on the Garigliano (916), whence they had constantly harassed central Italy since 882. Six years after the glorious victory on the Garigliano, Rudolph II., king of Upper Burgundy, was called to occupy the throne in place of Berengar. He came, defeated Berengar, was crowned at Milan, but soon after returned to his mountains. The assassination of Berengar, 924, extinguished the Empire as represented by kings of Italy.

258. Hugo, King of Italy and Burgundy—Union of the two Burgundies—Rudolf II. now returned, but the Italians drove him out and gave the

crown to that count Hugo, who had hitherto ruled Lower Burgundy for the blind Emperor. As soon as Hugo heard of the death of Louis the Blind (928), he hastened back to Lower Burgundy, secured the kingdom as his prize, and returning to Italy overawed the factions not less by his violence and cruelty than by his prudence and energy.

In 931 the Italians chose Hugo's son Lothar coregent and successor and in 933 they recalled Rudolph II. To keep him out, Hugo ceded Lower Burgundy to him, while Rudolph gave up his claims to Italy. The two Burgundies were united in 933 under the Welf Rudolf II.

259. **Anarchy.** — The dissolution of the Carolingian Empire produced a general anarchy which reached its worst stage in Italy. The first half of the tenth century was an "iron age" on the whole continent. The aristocracy everywhere were strong only against the kings, otherwise they were in constant warfare with each other. Christian countries were invaded by Northmen, Slavs, Hungarians, Saracens; tyrannical princes and vassals oppressed the people. Ecclesiastical property was plundered with impunity, bishoprics and abbeys were bought and sold with open simony and sometimes conferred even on children. The first half of the tenth century affords the darkest age of the Church. The Church in the person of its head, was first reduced to helplessness in consequence of the Italian feuds, and then degraded by an enforced slavery to a prominent Italian family whose soldiers or even women nominated the candidates to the See of St. Peter. The clergy sank lower in character as it degenerated in morals, and the people forgot the practical duties which Christianity imposed. There were noble but spare exceptions here and there, the germs of a better future.

260. Cluny — Such a bright spot, the source of a powerful reaction against the evils of the time, already existed in the celebrated Abbey of Cluny, founded by Berno, a Burgundian noble, dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and endowed by duke William of Aquitaine, 910. Under the guidance of a brilliant succession of saintly abbots, St. Odo, abbot Aymard, St. Maieul, St. Odilo, a monastic reform, called the Cluniac Reform, spread to the monasteries of Spain, France, Normandy, England, Germany, and Hungary, and smoothed the way for the more general reform effected by the greatest monk of Cluny, Pope Gregory VII.

Church: *Beginning of Middle Ages.* — Tout: *The Empire and the Papacy.* — Alzog: *Universal Church History*, v. II., pp. 171-189; 224-250; 254-268. — Hergenroether: *Kirchengesch*, v. I., 509-513; 580-97. — Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte*, vols. III. and IV. — *On State and Church in Frankish Empire;* St., v. 2, p. 547. — Ernst Sackur: *Die Cluniacenser.* — Dom A. L'Huillier: *Vie de St. Hugues, abbé de Cluny.* — Ringholz: *Der hl. Abt. Odilo von Cluny.* — Reumont: *Rom.*, vol. II. — Gregorovius: *Rome.* — *The Foundation Document of Cluny:* Henderson: Sel. Hist. Docs.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

Prominent Popes of the Carolingian Period.

St. Zachary, 741–752, decided for the transfer of the Frankish kingdom from the *Merovingian* to the *Carolingian House*, 752.

Stephen II., 752–757, crowned and anointed *Pipin the Short*, 754, and received *Pipin's donation* of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, 755.

St. Paul I., 757–763, brother of Stephen II.

Adrian I., 772–795, obtained a confirmation and extension of *Pipin's donation* from **CHARLES THE GREAT**, and conferred on him the title of *Roman Patrician* (Protector of the Church), 774.

St. Leo III., 795–816, founded the **HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE** by the *coronation* of **CHARLES THE GREAT**, 800.

St. Paschal I., 817–824, crowned *Lothar I.* Emperor, 823.

Gregory IV., 827–844, unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the sons of *Lewis the Pious* with their father. He always maintained the imperial right of *Lewis the Pious*.

St. Leo IV., 847–855, built the **LEONINE CITY** and defeated the *Saracens* at *Ostia*.

ST. NICHOLAS I. THE GREAT, 858–867, the most eminent Pope since Gregory the Great — a fearless defender of right, justice and morality in the midst of anarchy.

Adrian II., 867–872, ruled in the spirit of *Nicholas I.*

John VIII., 872–882, firmly maintained the prestige of the Holy See amidst the *Dissolution of the Carolingian Empire.*

CHARLES THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS IN THE EMPIRE.

1. **CHARLES THE GREAT**, crowned **EMPEROR**, 800, by **ST. LEO III.**, 800–814.
2. *Lewis the Pious*, son of *Charles the Great*, 816–840.
3. *Lothar I.*, son of *Lewis the Pious*, co-Emperor, 823–840, Emperor, 840–855
4. *Lewis II.*, son of *Lothar I.*, co-Emperor, 850–855, Emperor, 855–875.
5. *Charles the Bald*, son of Lewis the Pious, 875–877.
6. *Charles the Fat*, son of Ludwig the German, 881–887.
7. *Wido of Spoleto*, grandson of *Pipin*, the son of *Charles the Great*, 890–94.
8. *Lambert*, son of *Wido of Spoleto*, co-Emperor, 892–94, Emperor, 894–96.
9. *Arnulf of Carinthia*, grandson of *Ludwig the German*, 896–899.
10. *Lewis the Blind*, grandson of *Lewis II*, 901–915.
11. *Berengar I.*, a descendant of *Lewis the Pious* by his daughter, *Gisela*, 915–924.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

I. THE WARS WITH THE LONGOBARDS, 773-776.

Wars and their Causes.	*Expeditions.*
Causes—1. Repudiation of *Desiderata*, daughter of *King Desiderius*. 2. The cause of *Karlman's sons* championed by Desiderius. 3. Invasion of the *Patrimony of St. Peter*.	First expedition, 773-74. Surrender of *Pavia* and deposition of *Desiderius*. Charles "*King of the Franks and the Longobards*." Lombardy a separate kingdom. Second expedition against rebellious Dukes. The Frankish constitution imposed upon Lombardy, 776.

II. FIRST SAXON WAR, 772-780.

1. Hereditary hostility between *Franks* and *Saxons*. 2. Saxon hatred of *Christianity*. 3. Frequent Saxon raids into *Frankish* territory. 4. Repeated massacres of Frankish *missionaries* and *garrisons*. 5. The absence of Charles in *Italy* and *Spain*.	Almost annual expeditions. Capture of *Eresburg;* destruction of the *Irmensul*, 772. First rising of **WIDUKIND**, and new subjugation of the Saxons, 775-76. *First Mayfield* in the Saxon country at *Paderborn*, 777. Second Saxon rising under *Widukind*, subdued 779-80. Mock conversion and submission of the Saxons, 780-82.

III. CHARLES' EXPEDITION TO SPAIN, 778.

Invitation of *Arab chiefs* in northern Spain, who opposed the *Omiad* rule of *Abderrahman*.	Charles subdued the country between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. On his return the rear guard defeated by the *Basques* in the passes of *Roncesvalles*. *Roland's* death. The *Spanish March* secured by Lewis the Pious, 800.

Assistants of Ch. the Great	*Institutions.*
1. *In war and government.* Charles was assisted by his sons as dependent kings: a. In the government of *Neustria* by his eldest son *Charles*, crowned king by St. Leo III., 800; b. In the government of Italy by his second son *Pipin* (d. 810) and Pipin's son Bernard (King of Italy, 813; deposed by Lewis the Pious, 818); c. In the government of Aquitaine, where Charles had to repress a revolt in the beginning of his reign, by his youngest son *Lewis the Pious* and *William Count of Toulouse*. They had also to watch over the *Spanish March* and over *Celtic Brittany*. In his	1. *Religion, Education and Civilization;* Imperial Chapel; Arch-chaplain; Tithes. Foundation of seven bishopries for the pacification, conversion and civilization of the Saxons: Osnabrück, Paderborn, Münster, Minden, Verden, Hildesheim, Halberstadt. Liberal donations to foreign churches. 2. *Education.* The Schola palatina or palace school; monastic schools; Charles' literary circle; composition or transcription of numerous works, religious, classical, historical; German epics. 3. Constitution. Codes of Frisian, Saxon, Thuringian, etc., laws. Mayfields and Diets (65 in number), Capitularies (572). Marches or Marks, Margraves, markmen, for the defense of the frontiers. Inland Counties or gaus, ruled by Counts; visited by Missi dominici, *i.e.*, royal or imperial commissioners. Royal Palatinates, Counts

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLES THE GREAT — *Continued.*

IV. SECOND SAXON WAR, 782-85.

1. A new, formidable Saxon rising under *Widukind.*
2. Wholesale destruction of Christian institutions.
3. Defeat by *Widukind* of two Frankish armies on the *Weser.*
4. The execution of 4,500 Saxons at *Verden*, 882.

The Saxon strength (*Westphalians, Eastphalians, Engrians* and *Transalbingians*) united against Charles the Great. Drawn battle at *Detmold;* rout of the Saxons near *Osnabrück*, 883. After a hopeless struggle continued for two years, **Widukind** submitted and was **baptized**, 885. Beginning of the real conversion of the Saxons.

V. WARS AGAINST THASSILO OF BAVARIA AND THE TURANIAN AVARS.

1. Several risings of *Thassilo* against the Frankish suzerainty.
2. Thassilo's *alliance* with the *Avars of Pannonia.*
3. The invasion of *Bavaria* and of the *Lombard March of Friuli* by the Avars after Thassilo's deposition.

1. Three armies of Charles entered *Bavaria* and forced *Thassilo* to renew his allegiance, 787.
2. When Thassilo attempted a second rising, he was *deposed*, his dukedom cut up into counties, and his *German* portion annexed to the *Frankish Kingdom.*
3. In a personal campaign to which he summoned all the forces of the Empire, *Charles* advanced as far as the *Raab*, 791. His generals continued the war. *King Pipin* broke their aggressive power by a decisive victory, 796. The remnants of the Avars were amalgamated with the surrounding German and Slavonic inhabitants.

later years, Charles at times employed his sons outside their kingdoms in different parts of the Empire.

2. *In the work of education and civilization:*

ALCUIN OF YORK,
The Lombard Paul the Deacon.
Peter of Pisa,
Eginhard the biographer,
Clement of Ireland and others.

Palatine or palsgraves. King's courts, district courts (dings) with their Schöffen or assistants.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, FOUNDED BY ST. LEO III. AND CHARLES THE GREAT, renewed by **OTTO THE GREAT, 800-1806.**

It represented a supremacy of *honor* (not territory), the unity of Christendom, the co-operation of Church and State, the defense of the Holy See and the Christian commonwealth, and the protection of the widows and orphans, the wronged and persecuted.

VI. **MINOR EXPEDITIONS OF CHARLES THE GREAT OR HIS GENERALS.**

1. *Third Saxon War.* A number of punitive expeditions of a local character into the Saxon lands. The risings stirred up by the paganizing party were no longer dangerous to the Empire, 793-804.
2. An expedition of Charles against *Benevento*, 786, and of *Pipin*, 800.
3. Expedition against the *northern Slavs*: *Obotrites*, *Sorbes*, *Wilzes*, especially 782, 789; and against the *Bohemians*, who were made tributary, 805.
4. Against the *Saracen Pirates of Africa* in 799. The inhabitants of the *Balearic Islands*, of *Sardinia* and *Corsica invited* the Franks to protect them against the Saracens.
5. Number of Expeditions: 53. — Boundaries of Charles' Empire: the *Eider* in *Denmark*, the *Ebro* in *Spain*, the *Garigliano* in *Italy*, the *Raab* in *Pannonia*.

CHIEF DIVISIONS OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE.

1. **DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE** by *Lewis the Pious* among his sons in 817. *Italy* and the co-imperial dignity given to *Lothar I.*, *Aquitaine* to *Pipin*, *Bavaria* to *Ludwig the German*.
2. **DIVISION OF 829.** *Charles the Bald*, *Judith's* son, received the new kingdom of *Alamannia* and *Burgundy*. This division resulted in the **WAR OF THE SONS AGAINST THE FATHER**; the *Lügenfeld*, 833.
3. **DIVISION OF 839.** The younger *Pipin* was disinherited, *Ludwig* received *Bavaria*, the rest was divided between *Lothar* and *Charles the Bald*. The division resulted in the **WAR OF THE BROTHERS.** *Lothar* defeated by *Ludwig the German* and *Charles the Bald* at **FONTENOY**, 841.
4. **DIVISION BY THE TREATY OF VERDUN, 843.** *Emperor Lothar I.* received (in addition to Italy) the *Kingdom* of the **MIDDLE FRANKS:** Lotharingia or Lorraine (population mixed); *Charles the Bald* the *Kingdom of the West Franks* (later France, population Latinizing), *Ludwig the German* the Kingdom of the *East Franks* (later *Germany*, population Germanizing).
5. **DIVISION OF LOTHARINGIA BY THE TREATY OF MEERSEN, 870.** *Ludwig the German* took the *eastern* (Germanizing) portion, *Charles the Bald* the western (Latinized) portion of *Lorraine*, Lothar's inheritance.
6. **LAST REUNION OF THE EMPIRE OF CHARLES THE GREAT, 884-887,** under *Charles the Fat*, son of Ludwig the German. Only *Lower Burgundy* (*Provence*, or the Kingdom of *Arles*) had been separated from the Empire in 879, the nobles electing Count *Boso King of Lower Burgundy*.
7. **LAST DIVISION OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE.** The East-Franks abandoned *Charles the Fat* at *Tribur*, **887**, and Charles abdicated in **888**. Five kingdoms resulted from the division:
   1. **THE KINGDOM OF THE EAST-FRANKS** (*Germany*) under *Arnulf of Carinthia*.
   2. **THE KINGDOM OF THE WEST-FRANKS** (*France*) under *Charles the Simple*, grandson of *Charles the Bald*.
   3. **THE KINGDOM OF ITALY** under *Berengar I.* (Margrave of Friuli).
   4. *The Kingdom of Upper Burgundy* under *Rudolf I.*, a great-grandson of *Lewis the Pious*.
   5. *The Kingdom of Lower Burgundy* under *Lewis the Blind*, *son of Boso*.

CHAPTER II.

THE NORTHMEN IN EUROPE.

§ 1.

THE NORTHMEN AT HOME AND ON THEIR PIRATIC RAIDS.

261. **The Northmen at Home.** — Denmark, Sweden and Norway were in and before the eighth century inhabited by a Teutonic race closely akin to the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, and known by the general term of Northmen. Like the rest of the German tribes of antiquity, they consisted of serfs, freemen and chieftains; but they had no aristocracy between the king and the people. They had their mark system and village communities, each freeman or yeoman dwelling on his own homestead, while the arable land and the pastures were owned by the community. Each village had its thing or assembly and its headman for administrative and judicial purposes. A number of village communities formed a tribal state with a petty king and a corresponding thing at its head. States and villages met in the general assembly or Allthing, which made laws binding on the subordinate assemblies and communities. All offenses were redeemable by money compensations; the blood-fine might be accepted by the injured party or rejected; in the latter case the difficulty was fought out in a private feud. They had their mythology in common with the rest of the Teutonic nations, but they had no priests; the king or the headman performed the sacerdotal functions. St. Ansgar, the Apostle of the Scandinavians, preached to the Danes in 827, and went in 829 to the Swedes, among whom he effected numerous conversions and built many churches (829–65). The national conversion however of the Scandinavians belongs to a later period.

262. **Character of their Plundering Expeditions.** — Out of internal disturbances and struggles of which we have no reliable details, rose, as it seems in the latter half of the eighth century, a number of more powerful chieftains who displaced their less fortunate rivals. The worsted parties took to piracy and became vikings or creekmen (vic=creek). Their long boats,

some seventy-five feet long by fifteen broad, with narrow beam, little depth of keel, and a single large square sail, enabled them to enter the most shallow inlets. The vikings were hardy, ferocious, haughty, fearless; to fly from three foemen was considered disgraceful. In their light galleys they bore down upon any defenseless point, harried, sacked and burned, and were off again, before any resistance could be offered. The period of those invasions, of which the object was not settlement but plunder, lasted from the middle of the 8th to the middle of the 9th century. By this time they were operating on every coast of western Europe. It was characteristic of this period, that they attacked with equal ferocity their own countrymen and strangers. In foreign parts the churches and monasteries were the chief objects of plunder; priests and monks suffered their fiercest persecution. They seem to have been instigated to such acts of hostility by the thousands of heathen Saxons, who sought refuge in Denmark from the sword of Charles the Great.

263. Extent of their Expeditions. — They pushed forward in three sweeping lines. (a) From Norway a twenty-four hours' sail brought them to the Shetland Islands, whence they descended to the Orkneys and the coast of Scotland and Ireland. (b) From Denmark and Norway they swept along the coasts of Friesland, Gaul, Spain, and into the Mediterranean. Their descent on Spain and Italy, fierce as it was, led to no permanent result at that period. They were far more persistent in their attacks on the Franks. The sea-coasts and the shores of every river and stream of East and West-Frankland and all the seaboard between the mouths of the rivers are marked with places where the vikings fought battles, burned, destroyed and made captives in the forty-seven invasions mentioned by the Frankish chroniclers. The Carolingians in their family feuds sometimes used them against each other. The disinherited Pipin the Younger is said to have apostatized and joined them. In their successive onsets they sacked or burnt the principal cities of Gaul and Germany: Toulouse, Rouen, Paris (845), Rheims, Bordeaux, Soissons, and many others; Utrecht, Antwerp, Köln, Nymwegen, Coblentz, Liège, Zulpich, Aachen, etc. In Germany their invasions were checked by the great victory, which Arnulf, king of the East-Franks, gained over 80,000 Northmen at Loewen (Louvain) in 891. After this defeat they never attempted again to penetrate into the interior of Germany. Those who had settled during these invasions in Friesland and along the North Sea mingled with the surrounding

inhabitants. (c) From Sweden the Northmen swept around the Baltic and up its rivers, and harassed the Slavonic nations.

Johnson: *Normans in Europe.* — Nilsson: *Primitive Scandinavia.* — Magnusson: *Denmark.* — Sidgwick: *Story of Denmark.* — Engelhart: *Denmark in the Early Iron Age.* — Boyesen: *Story of Norway.* — Keary: *Norway and the Norwegians.* — Snorri Sturleson. *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*, transl. by Morris and Magnusson. — C. T. Keary: *The Vikings in Western Christendom* (789–888). — Laing: *Sea-Kings of Norway.* — Paul B. du Chaillu: *The Viking Age.* — Neukomm: *Tamers of the Sea.* — *Early Sieges of Paris:* Freeman: Essays, v. 1. — Saxo-Grammaticus: *Danish History*, transl. by Elton. — Oman: *Europe*, 476–918: *The Coming of the Vikings*, pp. 405–514. — E. B. Thorpe: *Yule Tide Stories.* — Mallet-Percy: *Northern Antiquities;* also E. R. '91, 1, p. 332. — Worsaae-Simpson: *The Pre-History of the North.*

§ 2.

SETTLEMENTS OF THE NORTHMEN.

264. Causes of the Raids. — Within a few years of each other (about 850–60), all the petty dominions of Scandinavia were consolidated by three prominent leaders into so many kingdoms: Denmark was conquered and ruled by Gorm the Old (860–935); Norway, by Harald Harfagr (Fairhair 863–932); and Sweden by Eric Emundsson (died 885?). The vigorous measures which Harald adopted to put down all piracy at home and to increase the royal power by lessening popular freedom, drove many a discontented spirit into the ranks of the vikings, who now set forth not only to plunder, but to found new homes in foreign parts.

265. **The Jarls of Orkney, 875–1469.** — Norwegian invasions on the Shetland Islands and Orkneys began towards the end of the eighth century. In the days of Harald Harfagr many exiled sea-rovers overcame the Pictish inhabitants, and made these islands the basis of operations against their mother country. Harald at the head of a strong fleet conquered the islands and conferred them as a family possession on Roegnwald, Jarl or dependent chief of Moeri in Norway. Under Einar the son of Roegnwald, the Jarls of Orkney were permanently established. They owed a nominal allegiance to the kings of Norway, and extended their power to Caithness and Sutherland. In the eleventh century they accepted Christianity. In the English and Scotch wars they fought for the independence of the North, and were finally merged in the kingdom of Scotland.

266 **The Kingdom of Dublin.** — The next objects of attack were the Hebrides, the western coasts of Scotland, and the eastern coasts of Ireland. In 795 Norwegian vikings sacked the great monastery of Iona. The incursions into Ireland were repeated, year after year, with increasing force. There was

not a town in the island defended by a stone wall. Thorgils with sixty ships entered the Boyne, marched to Armagh, burnt the Cathedral of St. Patrick, took possession of Ulster and assumed the sovereignty over the Norse settlers in the north of Ireland. From his royal seat at Armagh he harassed the neighboring kingdoms of Meath and Connaught, burning churches and monasteries, slaying priests and monks. Thorgils was killed in a rising of the northern clans of Ireland (about 851). With his death his kingdom fell to pieces. Other bands of Norwegians, the Fingalls or White Strangers, as they were called by the Irish, occupied the eastern coast and ravaged the country. The Danish sea-king Olaf the Fair led the Dugalls or Black Strangers to Ireland, built and fortified Dublin, and made himself master of all the Scandinavian coast-settlers, the Ostmen, so called to distinguish them from the Westmen or native Irish. With Ivar the Boneless, another sea-king, Olaf invaded Scotland (about 866). Ivar alone returned to Dublin, and his descendants the Hy-Ivars ruled there for two centuries. Thence they frequently joined expeditions from the mother country to invade East-Anglia, Northumbria and Scotland. Dublin, Northumbria and the Isle of Man with the Kingdom of the Isles (the Hebrides) were sometimes governed by the same king, and almost always by a king of the same race. For three hundred years Ireland was subjected to the incursions of the Northmen and demoralized by the miseries of incessant warfare. The conversion of the Ostmen dates from about 950. Olaf Cuaran, a descendant of Ivar, received baptism in England, and took with him monks from Northumbria who effected a partial conversion of the Ostmen. In 1038 the first Ostman bishop was consecrated at Canterbury.

267. **The Republic of Iceland, 874–1264.**—Vikings discovered and named Iceland. In the reign of Harald Harfagr the first colony was established, 874. The few inhabitants of Celtic origin offered little opportunity for spoil. The settlers established a system of clan-government similar to that which had prevailed in Norway before the period of centralization. In 930 they summoned an Allthing and chose a Lawman (Lagman) to preside over this general assembly. The Lawman and twelve district judges, chieftains and priests of their districts, formed the Court of Law. The election of the Lawman, the execution of the laws, and the administration of the country were intrusted to this aristocratic body. Soon after the legal introduction of Christianity into Norway by Olaf Triggvason (995), Christianity was introduced into Iceland by a decree of the Allthing (about 1000). It was in Iceland that the Scandinavian literature was preserved in the older and newer Eddas, collections of Norse traditions (Sagas), compiled by Sigmund Sigfusson and Snorro Sturleson. In 1056 Isleifr, the first native bishop, was consecrated at Bremen. In later times dissensions arose between the powerful families of Iceland, which in the thirteenth century degenerated into a reign of terror, to which king Hacon put an end in 1264 by abolishing the republic and making Iceland a province of Norway.

268. **Greenland and Vinland.** — Greenland was discovered from Iceland by Eric the Red in 984. In 986 fourteen ships arrived with settlers. By fresh immigrations from Iceland and Norway, Greenland grew into a prosperous republic and maintained a permanent trade with the mother countries. In 1261 Greenland had to submit to Norway. Christianity was introduced about 1000 by Leif, the son of Eric the Red, who had obtained some missionaries from Olaf Triggvason, king of Norway. The churches and monasteries created in Greenland maintained themselves for centuries, and received their first bishop in the person of Eric Upsi. The Episcopal See was established at Gardar and had a succession of sixteen or seventeen bishops.

The same Leif Ericson who introduced Christianity in Greenland undertook a southern voyage of discovery, sailed along the coasts of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New England, and founded a Norse colony in the southern part of Massachusetts and on Rhode Island (Newport) which from the wild grapes found in the neighborhood he called Vinland the Good, the land of the vine, 1002. The colony remained in constant connection with Greenland. The time and the cause of its abandonment or destruction is unknown. The last expedition to Vinland on record is that of bishop Eric Upsi in 1121. The colony of Greenland, greatly thinned by the Black Death, (1347–49) was destroyed in 1418 by the invasion of savage tribes from the American continent, as is evident from a Bull of Nicholas V. issued in 1448.

269. **Russia.— The House of Ruric, 862-1598.** — While the western seas were visited chiefly by the Danes and Norwegians, the Northmen of Sweden took to the Baltic, and plundered or levied tribute among the Slavonic tribes. In 862 Ruric, chief of the Russ or Northmen of Sweden, was called in by Slavonian tribes to rule them. Russ is the name by which the Finnish tribes on the Baltic designated Sweden. Ruric accompanied by his brothers and followed by his whole clan established himself at Novgorod, while some of his followers founded an independent principality at Kief. After Ruric's death Oleg, his kinsman and the guardian of his young son Igor, overcame the independent princes of Kief, and from this time Kief "the mother of all the Russian towns" remained the capital of the Russian state and the center of the people bearing the Russian name. Here the descendants of Ruric held the title of Grand Princes of the Russians till 1589. The name Russ or Russian gradually changed its meaning; from being a name given to the ruling Northmen it came to signify the Slavonic nations ruled by them. Russian vikings entered by the tributary rivers the Black Sea and the Caspian, and ravaged their coasts. In their trade with the Bulgarians and Byzantines they were attracted by the wealth of Constantinople, and four times between 869 and 1043 they attacked the Byzantine capital with powerful fleets, but without success. The Russ preserved their Scandinavian nationality for three or four generations. When Vladimir, the grandson of Igor, introduced Christianity into Russia, 998, he adopted St. Cyril's alphabet, language

and version of the Bible for the use of the Church. At an early date the Church of Russia was drawn into the Greek schism.

Northmen chiefly from Sweden, the Warings or Varangians, came to Constantinople in the capacity of hired troops, and formed in the tenth and eleventh centuries the celebrated body-guard of the Eastern Emperors.

1. John Reinhold Foster: *History of the Voyages and Discoveries by the Northmen.* — T. Carlyle: *Early Kings of Norway;* also: E. R. '75, 2, p. 203. See also Books to § 1.

2. Spence: *Earl Rögnwald and his Forebears: Norse Times in Orkney and Shetland.* — G. Barry: *The History of the Orkney Islands.* — *The Orkneys* (*Northmen Settlement*), Q. R., '76, 2, p. 126. — *The Orkneyinga Saga,* transl. by J. Anderson. — *Icelandic Sagas:* v. 1, *Orkneyinga Saga;* v. 2, *Hakonar Saga,* ed. by G. Vigfusson. — *On Northmen in Orkney, etc.,* E. H. R., v. 5, p. 129. — *Icelandic Sagas: Orkneyingas; Hakon:* transl. by G. W. Dasent.

3. S. Bryant: *Celtic Ireland.* — A. O'Connor: *Chronicles of Erin.* — Haliday: *Scandinavian Dublin.* — A. W. Moore: *The Early Connection of the Isle of Man with Ireland,* E. H. R., v. 4., p. 714. — Th. Burke: *Ireland: Norman Invasion.* — Joyce: *Short Hist. of Ireland and other Histories of Ireland* (see end of vol.).

4. Magnusson: *Iceland.* — Vigfusson ed.: *Icelandic Sagas,* trl. by Dasent. — Dasent: *Story of Burnt Njal* (Iceland in the 10th century); also E. R., '61, 2, p. 425. — "*Landnamaboc*" *of Iceland.*

5. Rafn, Finn Magnusson and others: *Antiquitates Americanae* (collection of documents about pre-Columbian travels to America). — R. B. Anderson: *America not Discovered by Columbus.* — Fiske: *Discovery of America,* I., pp. 151-266. — D. Crantz: *History of Greenland.* — Richard H. Clarke, LL. D.: *America Discovered and Christianized in the 10th and 11th Centuries:* A. C. Q., v. 13, p. 211; *The Conversion of the Northmen,* ibid.; v. 14, p. 487; *The First Christian Northmen in America,* v. 14, p. 598; *The Norse Hierarchy in America,* ib.; v. 15, p. 249.

6. Latham: *Native Races of Russia.* — Thomsen: *Relations Between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, and Origin of the Russian State.* — Wm. Roos: *The Swedish Part in the Viking Expeditions:* E. H. R., v. 7, p. 209. Rambaud: *Hist. of Russia.* — Morfill: *Story of Russia* (St. of N. S.)

§ 3.

FOUNDATION OF NORMANDY.

270. Rollo the Viking becomes Robert of Normandy, 911-927. — The assaults of the Northmen upon West Frankland had begun as early as 799 by a transient raid on Aquitaine. By the time of Charles the Bald permanent settlements, or rather fortified camps of Northmen hosts were established on the islands and headlands at the mouth of every great river of France. In 881 Lewis III. inflicted a crushing defeat on the vikings at Saucourt. The commercial city of Rouen had attracted the attention of the vikings to the Seine; once discovered, this river remained a favorite haunt of the Northmen. To establish a March against them Charles the Bald conferred the town and county of Paris on Robert the Strong. In 885-86 his son Odo con-

ducted for eleven months the famous defense of Paris against 40,000 Northmen which earned him the crown of the West Frankish kingdom.

Rollo, or Rolf the Ganger, a son of Jarl Roegnwald, a daring viking equally feared in Gaul and in England, made Rouen his stronghold, whence he carried devastation far and wide. To put an end to the sufferings of the people, and to gain an ally against his unruly nobles, Charles the Simple, by the Treaty of St. Claire-sur-Epte, conferred on Rollo the lands which he had conquered as the hereditary dukedom of Normandy. He seems to have added also the over-lordship of Brittany, 911. Rollo accepted Christianity and received in baptism the name of Robert — Robert, count of Paris, being his godfather. The newly-created duke introduced *feudalism*, roped out to his followers part of the granted lands, and made liberal donations in land to the Church and to the monasteries. The name of Rollo the Viking was soon lost in that of Robert the Legislator and the Father of his people, and the Northmen gradually became Normans and Christians. Their language developed itself into the Norman-French, the Langue d'oil, while the Provençal or Langue d'oc was spoken south of the Loire. The settlement of Normandy was an event which proved of the utmost importance in the history not only of France but of Europe.

271. **William Longsword, 927-943.** — Rollo abdicated at the age of eighty, and upon his recommendation the Norman leaders acknowledged his son William as their duke. He favored the assimilation of northern customs to the institutions of the Franks, and furthered Christianity among his people. By the suppression of a revolt of Bretons and paganizing Normans, William gained possession of the Cotentin and the Breton Channel Islands. William had his share in the intrigues and violences which entangled the Carolingian throne. While adjusting one of his feuds, he was treacherously murdered by Arnulf of Flanders.

272. **Richard I. the Fearless, 943-996.** — During the minority of his son, Richard the Fearless — Bernard the Dane being regent — the heathen party of the Normans reinforced by fresh arrivals, threatened new danger to the West Frankish kingdom. The Christian party appealed to Louis the Stranger and Hugh the Great for support. The two conquered Normandy, and young Richard was carried away to Laon, as a hostage for peace and order. Here Richard learned the knightly duties and the use of letters.

While Louis and Hugh were quarreling over Normandy, Richard escaped from Laon. Bernard the Dane, in the meanwhile, had called Harald Blaatand (Bluetooth), the son of Gorm the Old, from Denmark. All Normandy rose; Louis the Stranger, defeated and captured by Harald, was delivered by the Normans to Hugh the Great, and had to pay for his freedom by the surrender of Laon. Harald restored the authority of Richard in Normandy and sailed home. Richard paid homage to Hugh the Great, and was able in subsequent invasions to maintain his power against king Louis and Otto I., and against king Lothaire, the son of Louis the Stranger. Richard the Fearless laid the foundation of the internal prosperity of Normandy. The restoration of churches and monasteries, the vast ecclesiastical foundations within his dukedom, the introduction of the Cluniac Reform attest his zeal for religion. He welcomed Flemish manufacturers, encouraged annual fairs, protected the burgher-class, and deservedly gained the esteem and love of his people. Hugh the Great on his deathbed appointed him the guardian of his son Hugh Capet — and Richard lived to see his ward ascend the throne of France.

Johnson: *Normans in Europe.* — Palgrave: *Hist. of Normandy and England*, vol. 1, bk. 1. — Freeman: *Norman Conquest.* — Favre, *Eudes, Comte de Paris et Roi de France.* — Abbon: *Siège de Paris par les Normands* — *Ordericus Vitalis, Chronicler in Bohn's Library.* — Frodoard (877-978); Guber (900-1046): *Chroniques.* — Mason: *Early Chronicles.* — Sergeant: *Franks.* — Kitchin: *Hist. of France.*

§ 4.

CONSOLIDATION OF ENGLAND UNDER THE STRESS OF DANISH INVASION AND SETTLEMENT.

273. Offa, King of the Mercians, 757-796. — Contemporary with the earlier Frankish mayors of the palace Northumbria predominated in England. During the reigns of Pipin and Charles the Great Mercia came to the fore. King Offa extended his conquests among the Britons without however disturbing them from their seats. He drew a trench and rampart, Offa's Dyke, a hundred miles along the frontiers of the unconquered Welsh. Papal legates visited England and held synods of reformation in the Anglo-Saxon Church to restore discipline, which had been greatly impaired amid the jealousies and wars of local kings. During Offa's reign Ecgberht, of the House of Cerdic, like other banished princes, lived and learned the arts of war and government at the court of Charles the Great.

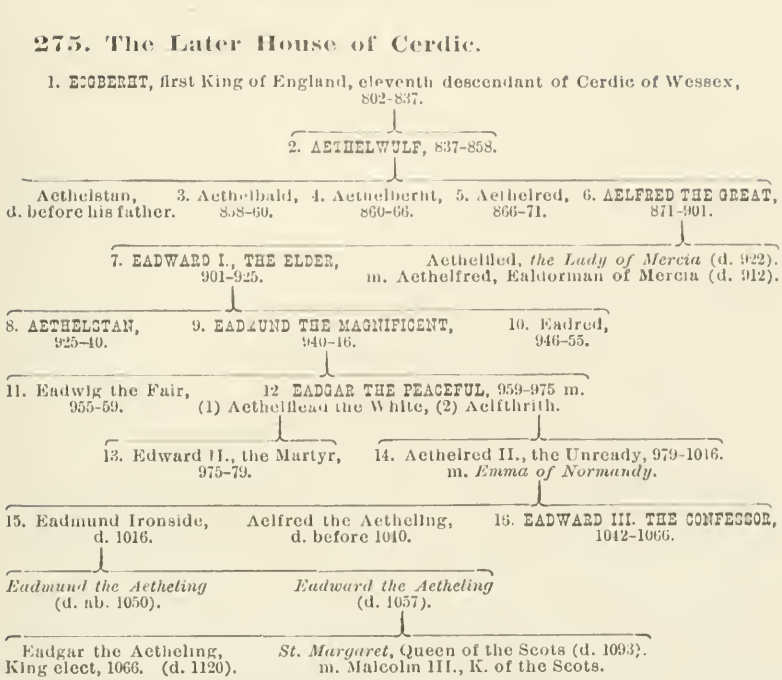
274. Danish Invasions — Union of the A-S. Kingdoms Under Ecgberht, 802-837. — The consolidation of England re-

ceived a powerful impulse from the invasions of the Northmen or Danes, as they were indiscriminately called in England. The first appearance of the sea rovers in "the three long boats" is chronicled in the year 787. In 794 a pirate band plundered Yarrow and Lindisfarne.

Ecgberht, the eighth Bretwalda of the Chronicles, returned to England in 802, and mounted the throne of Wessex. It was his aim to be king of all the English, as Charles the Great was king of all the Franks. Having restored peace and order in Wessex, he began his career of conquest with subduing Cornwall (809). An embassy of the East-Angles imploring his protection against the tyranny of the Mercians, offered the king of Wessex an opportunity of engaging in a struggle with the most powerful kingdom of the Heptarchy. After some reverses, Ecgberht destroyed the assumed superiority of Mercia in the bloody victory of Ellandun (823). The victorious king now joined Kent, Essex and Sussex to his own kingdom, and made the East-Angles tributary. The Northumbrians, discouraged by the ravages of the Danes and weakened by domestic dissensions, submitted without resistance, 827. Mercia, East-Anglia and Northumbria retained their subject kings. The Church, the nobles, and the people continued in all respects in the enjoyment of their old rights and institutions.

In Ecgberht's reign the name of *England* appears for the first time, about 830 or 833. It was adopted, it seems, by a witenagemot at Westchester. The power of Ecgberht's sovereignty was much greater than that of the old Bretwaldaships. But it worked for the evident benefit of the nation. It united the Anglo-Saxon people against the Danish invaders. Viking bands under Thorgils from northern Ireland had made two landings, on the Isle of Shepey, and on the coast of Dorsetshire, and had defeated the king with heavy loss. To render English resistance more effectual, Ecgberht summoned his prelates and nobles to London, to adopt measures against the pirates. He allied himself with the Church, promised peace and protection to Canterbury, Winchester and other English sees, and received from the prelates the pledge of lasting friendship and support. Thus prepared he entered upon his last campaign. When the formidable raiders landed again on the coast of Cornwall and were joined by the British natives, Ecgberht defeated the united hosts with great slaughter at Hengestesdun (Hengstone) 835, and thereupon inflicted a severe punishment on the Britons.

275. The Later House of Cerdic.



276. Aethelwulf and His Sons, 837–901. — In the reign of Aethelwulf, the son and successor of Egberht, a fleet of 350 pirate vessels entered the Thames and sacked Canterbury and London. The Northmen then pushed through Surrey into the heart of England. After a long and stubborn contest Aethelwulf defeated them at Aclea (Ockley), 851, to such good purpose that for the rest of his reign they gave very little trouble.

During the period of repose which followed, Aethelwulf sent his youngest and favorite son Aelfred, attended by a great retinue of nobles and commoners, to Rome, where the prince at the age of five was confirmed and anointed future king of England by St. Leo IV. (853). Two years later the king himself took Aelfred to Rome. During their stay, lasting a full year, Aethelwulf restored the Saxon School, and edified the people by his piety and munificence.

Of the five sons of Aethelwulf, Aethelstan, died before his father, Aethelbald, the black sheep of the family, rebelled against his father, married his widow, and died as king of Wessex, despised by all Christendom in 860. Aethelbert reigned "peacefully and amiably and honorably" till 866.

277. Aethelred I., the Saint, 866–71. — From 787 to 855 the Northmen had invaded and ravaged the country without forming any settlements. In 855 they wintered for the first time in Kent. From 866, the beginning of Aethelred's reign, England became the main object of attacks by Norwegians, Danes, Northmen of Iceland, and Ostmen of Ireland and of the Kingdom of the Isles. They came with the intention of remaining.

Ivar the Boneless landed in England, 866, wintered in East Anglia, conquered York the following year, and with the assistance of Olaf the Fair, king of Dublin, subjected all Northumbria, destroying her churches, monasteries and monuments of civilization. Having invaded Mercia, the Northmen returned to East-Anglia and completed its conquest in 870, "the year of horrors." St. Eadmund the Martyr, the last under-king of East Anglia, suffered a cruel martyrdom at the hands of the invaders. The church of St. Edmundbury marks his tomb. A part of the Danish host remained and chose Guthrum, their leader, king.

278. Wessex Invaded, 871. — The Danes now attacked Wessex. Nine pitched battles were fought in the year 871. Aethelred with his younger brother Aelfred at his side gained the victory of Ashdown, over Halfdene, a petty king of the Danes, but was soon after defeated at Meredune, (Merton?) where he received a mortal wound. Aelfred, king at the age of twenty-two, stood almost alone against the Danes. The army dispersed after the death of Aethelred. The young king had to conclude a truce with Halfdene, who too had suffered heavily at Meredune.

Card. Newman: *The Northmen and Normans in England.* — J. J. A. Worsaae: *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland.* — Palgrave: *History of the Anglo-Saxons.* — Aubrey: *Rise and Growth of England.* — Coman and Kendall: *Growth of the English Nation.* — C. G. Robertson: *The Making of the English Nation.* — Green: *The Making of England.* — Lappenberg-Thorpe: *A History of England Under the Anglo-Saxon Kings;* Part I., to Egberht; P. II., to Cnut. — Winkelmann: *Geschichte der Angelsachsen.* — J. B. Mackinlay: *St. Edmund, King and Martyr; a History of His Life and Time.*

§ 5.

AELFRED THE GREAT, 871–901.

279. First Great Invasion in Aelfred's Reign, 876–78 — Ethandune and Wedmore. — In the time of greatest need Providence gave to England a

king who singly united the praise of heroism on the battle field, high wisdom in government, and success in learned studies.

In 875 part of the Danish host went northward and conquered Strathclyde and southern Scotland, part remained in East Anglia. Whilst Halfdene was overrunning Northumbria with fire and sword, dispossessing the earlier conquerors, Guthrum, king of East Anglia, having drawn reinforcements from Ireland surprised Wessex by a new invasion before the king could gather his forces. They landed at Wareham in 876, and concentrated their forces first at Exeter and then at Gloucester, whence they overran the greater part of Wessex. Nearly all England was now in the hands of the Danes. Aelfred, a homeless outlaw in his own kingdom with a price upon his head, found a refuge in the marshes of Somerset (Athelney), where he wintered with his family and a few loyal followers. Many Saxons fled over sea, most of those who remained submitted to the Danes. At Whitsuntide of 878, Aelfred with the faithful men of a few counties stole a march upon his enemies, seized a superb position in their rear at Ethandune, completely defeated Guthrum, and drove him with his Danes to seek shelter in their fortified camp. A siege of two weeks broke the spirit of the Northmen and brought them to a surrender. They swore that they would at once depart from Wessex, and Guthrum promised to embrace Christianity. Often faithless before, Guthrum proved sincere this time. He withdrew to Mercia, had himself instructed in the Christian faith, and returned in seven weeks an entirely changed man to Wessex. He was baptized with thirty chiefs and many other Danes. Aelfred himself stood godfather and his godson was christened Aethelstan. In the Peace of Wedmore a line of demarkation was settled which gave London, Kent, Wessex and part of Mercia to Aelfred; East Anglia, Essex and the rest of Mercia to Guthrum-Aethelstan. Five Danish towns, known in history as the five Boroughs: Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, and Stamford, were formed into a special confederation. Guthrum-Aethelstan ruled henceforth as a Christian king till his death, which occurred eleven years later.

The fifteen years of peace which followed the Peace of Wedmore were only occasionally disturbed by piratical raids of small importance. In 886 Aelfred took possession of London, the ruins of which had remained for a

time in the hands of a Danish force, rebuilt and walled the city, and handed it over to his son-in-law Aethelfred, ealdorman of Mercia.

280. **Reorganization of the Army and the Navy.**— To guard against future invasions, Aelfred restored the fortresses destroyed by the Danes and established camps of refuge. To put the military forces on a better footing, he divided the country into military districts, each borough, according to its population, having to send from one to twelve men to the army at the summons of the king, while the rest had to till the lands and to defend the homesteads. He placed the chief responsibility for military affairs in the hands of Thegns, nobles, whose honor and emoluments depended on their services rendered to the king rather than on the soil. By building a large fleet, which he manned partly with English, partly with Frisian sailors, Aelfred became the father of the English navy. His ships of war were swifter, steadier, higher and twice as long as the galleys of the Danish sea rovers. His fleet was assiduously cruising in the Channel, and frequently engaged the vikings. The king sometimes commanded in person.

281. Second Danish Invasion, 893–97. — Another powerful invasion of Danes under Hasting, reinforced by the fugitive Northmen whom king Arnulf had defeated at Loewen, and by bands from Northumbria, threatened the work of Aelfred. The king held Exeter against the fleet, his son Eadward and his son-in-law Aethelfred, the ealdorman of Mercia, defeated the invading army at Farnham. A junction of all the English forces destroyed the Danish camp on the Lea and drove Hasting across the Channel. To these successes Aelfred added the conquest of North-Wales.

Aelfred's England was about equally divided between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes. The English held the Saxon kingdoms and the greater part of Mercia (the Westsaexna-law, i. e., the territory ruled by the Saxon laws). The Danelaw comprised East-Anglia, Northumbria, and the "Five-Boroughs" of Mercia where the lordship of the soil was in the hands of the Danes. In East-Anglia the settlements were fewer, the English were the dominant race, and the constitution was Christian and English. The Danes adapted themselves easily to English customs, and with the process of intermingling they were gradually converted to Christianity. The Saxon tribes were more completely united by common danger and common exertions, and looked upon the kings of Wessex as the champions of national faith and independence. Aelfred enabled his sons and grandsons to reconquer the ground lost in the Danish invasions.

282. **The Laws of King Aelfred.**— Equally active in peace as in war, Aelfred reorganized the administration of justice, enforced the right of

appeal to himself from every court of the land, and exacted with the greatest rigor, that justice be done to the least of his subjects. "The Laws of King Aelfred" were duly approved point for point by the witenagemot. Beginning with the Ten Commandments they embody a number of appropriate laws taken from the Old Testament, the Acts of the Apostles, the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem, the Sermon on the Mount. He then introduces those dooms of Aethelberht of Kent, Ina and Offa "that seemed to him wisest and rightest," and added laws of his own adapted to the new circumstances, full of prudence and discretion.

283. **Religion and Education.**—Both religious worship and education were in a deplorable state. The pagan invaders traversing England in every direction had destroyed the churches, burnt the monasteries and scattered in flight the monks and nuns. It was Aelfred's chief effort to revive the spirit of piety and learning in his part of England. He was, however, far from looking upon the Church in England as a national and independent establishment; but maintained constant communication with the Holy See. From his childhood to the end of his life he was a Roman of the Romans. He worked very strenuously to improve the education of the clergy. Besides restoring the monastic schools, he established a college for the young nobles of the kingdom. To this end he gathered around him men of virtue and learning from the British Isles and from the continent such as bishop Werfrith of Worcester, Plegmund, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, the learned priests Aethelstan and Werwulf from Mercia, provost Grimbald from St. Omer, John the Old Saxon from Corbey and the Welsh bishop Asser, his first biographer. Under the guidance of these men Aelfred himself, whose early education had been neglected, rapidly improved in learning. Sympathizing with the unlearned among the laity he struck out the bold idea of breaking down the barrier between Latin, the written, and Anglo-Saxon the spoken language of the time by translations from the former. He himself undertook the task and translated the *History of Orosius, the Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius, *the Ecclesiastical History* of Venerable Bede, and wrote his *Handbook* or short extracts from various sources, *Blossom-gatherings* from St. Augustine, and the preface to St. Gregory's Pastoral Care. By these translations into which he blended passages and reflections of his own Aelfred became the founder of English prose. Under the supervision of Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was put into better shape. Geographical knowledge was increased by voyages of exploration in the North sent out by Aelfred under the experienced seamen Othere and Wulphere.

284. **Aelfred's Life and Death.** — Although suffering from a constitutional disease from his youth, Aelfred the Great was an indefatigable and systematic worker. Measuring his hours by a timepiece of candles and horn of his own invention, he gave eight hours to sleep and refreshment, and

divided the rest of his time into two halves; one was dedicated to the service of God including daily Mass and devotional exercises, deeds of charity, writing, etc., the other to the cares of government. He made a similar division of his yearly income. One-half was set aside for the demands of divine worship, the spiritual welfare of the people, the poor at home and the needy of all nations who came to seek relief from the king, for his two monastic foundations at Athelney and Shaftesbury and the remaining monasteries of Wessex and Mercia, for his college of nobles, and for generous gifts to the churches in Northumbria, British England, Ireland, and Armorica. Yearly embassies carried the Peter's Pence to Rome. Other ambassadors carried alms to the churches of Jerusalem and to the Christians of Malabar on the East Indian coasts. It is the first intercourse between England and East India on record. The second half of his income was for the maintenance of the army and navy, the support of the officers of his court, the payment of the numerous artisans whom he gathered from all nations, and for the expenses of his royal hospitality. Aelfred the Great died on the 26 or 28 of October, 901, and was buried in the precincts of the new monastery at Winchester which he had begun to build. With him passed away "England's Darling," every inch a ruler, a vigorous defender and tender father of his people, the very type of a Catholic king.

Asser: *Reign of Aelfred the Great* (contemporary). — Knight, S. J.: *The Life of King Alfred the Great;* also M. '76–'79. — Powell: *Aelfred and the Danes; Alfred the Great and William the Conqueror.* — Hughes; Lord; Pauli: *Lives of Aelfred the Great.* — Sweet: *King Alfred's Version of Orosius* with translation. — *Works of Alfred the Great,* 2 vols. — *Alfred der Grosse:* — H. P. B., v. 31, p. 291. — W. H. Simcox: *Alfred's Year of Battles:* E. H. R., v. 1, p. 218. — *A. S. Chronicle,* ed. by J. A. Giles (Bohn's Library). — J. A. Giles: *Six Old English Chronicles* (Asser's *Life of Aelfred,* and the *Chronicles of Ethelward, Gildas, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Richard of Cirencester*). — *Aelfred the Great* in the general works quoted in this chapter.

§ 6.

BRITISH-IMPERIAL POWER OF THE WEST-SAXON KINGS OF THE ENGLISH.

285. Eadward I. the Elder, 901–925. — Eadward I. the Elder, continued the work of his father by gradually extending the English boundaries, the Westsaexna-law, at the expense of the Danelaw. Cautious and vigorous, constantly securing his rear by the erection of burhs or forts as he pushed forward, and striking a blow when opportunity offered, Eadward step by step conquered the remainder of Essex and the kingdom of East-Anglia, while his brave sister Aethelflead, the Lady of Mercia, pursuing the same course, cleared the Five Boroughs of the Danish invaders. Thus Eadward came to rule as far as the Humber (911–922). In the North a

League was in the meantime formed by Constantine II., king of the Scots (the seventh of the Line of Kenneth, who in 844 had subdued Scotland), Sithric, king of Dublin and York, the Britons of Wales and Strathclyde. Eadward having put the western coast in a state of defense against the Ostmen, marched to the North. The allies submitted to him and acknowledged him as "father and lord" (922–24). Scotland and Strathclyde became for the first time vassal-states of England, and the supremacy of the West-Saxon kings extended over the whole of the British island. His sons maintained and consolidated this supremacy and styled themselves Emperors of Britain.

286. Aethelstan, 925–940. — Eadward by his last will named his eldest son as his successor, and the nobles of Wessex and Mercia confirmed his disposition. When Sithric died, 926, Aethelstan annexed Northumbria. The revival of the Northern League once more threatened the peace of England. Constantine of Scotland, Olaf, the son of Sithric, king of the Ostmen, the kings of Strathclyde and Wales, the Jarls of Orkney entered the Humber with 615 ships and joined the rebellious Northumbrians. Aethelstan allied himself with Eric Bloodaxe, the son of Harald Harfagr of Norway, and two other viking chiefs, marched against the allies, and won the celebrated victory of Brunanburh, 937, which broke up the Northern League. The allies submitted, and the relations between England and Scotland remained friendly for the rest of the century. To facilitate the government of England outside the Wessex territory, Aethelstan appointed ealdormen with vice-regal power and set Eric Bloodaxe the Norwegian over the Danes of Northumbria. Eric and his followers received baptism.

In the reign of Aethelstan, English ealdormen sat for the first time with Danish jarls and Welsh princes in the witenagemot. The Danes were more and more christianized and fused with the Angles. The Anglo-Saxon Wulfstan held the See of York, and Odo, of Danish blood, the primatial See of Canterbury. Aethelstan encouraged frith-gilds or free associations of neighbors for mutual protection and the maintenance of order.

287. Eadmund the Magnificent, 940–946, and Eadred, 946–55.— Eadmund the Magnificent and Eadred carried on the work of defense, amalgamation and government. Eadmund fought with Northumbrians, finally secured the Five-Boroughs, conquered Strathclyde and conferred the greater

portion of it, Cumberland, Galloway and other districts, on Malcolm I., son and successor of Constantine, to be held by the kings of the Scots under the obligation of rendering military service against England's foes. Eadmund was murdered at his own board by an outlawed robber. — His brother Eadred quelled the last northern revolt by the expulsion of Eric Bloodaxe. Danish royalty disappeared from Northumbria which henceforth was governed by ealdormen of the king's appointment. Eadred took as his chief adviser the saintly and learned Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury.

288. Eadgar the Peace-Winner, 959–975. — The short and turbulent reign of the dissolute Eadwig was followed by the prosperous rule of Eadgar the Peaceful. His reign, with the exception of a few local disturbances and naval expeditions, was a period of peace and restoration chiefly due to the mutual co-operation of the king and of St. Dunstan, now Archbishop of Canterbury. Wessex reached under Eadgar its highest power. He guaranteed to the Danes their local customs and impartially appointed worthy men of both races to high offices. He encouraged agriculture and trade. In winter and spring he visited the different counties, everywhere reforming abuses, inquiring into the conduct of the magistrates and listening to the complaints of the people. After Easter he swept the coasts of England with his large fleet to clear them of pirates. His personal rule was chiefly exercised in Wessex, while the great ealdormen of his day governed the provinces.

289. **St. Dunstan, 985–988.** — St. Dunstan continued with energy and discretion the work of religious, educational and literary revival which he had begun as abbot of Glastonbury. It is most certain that in the earlier centuries of the Anglo-Saxon Church the observance of celibacy was the general law and practice of the clergy. But through the Danish invasion there had arisen with the destruction of the monasteries a great relaxation of discipline among the secular clergy. The property of a number of monasteries was held by the secular clerks who were often married and led a worldly life. To remedy this evil St. Dunstan introduced the Cluniac Reform into England. Fifty reformed monasteries were the fruit of the combined efforts of the king and the Primate and a number of zealous noblemen. The secular clergy had either to comply with the laws of the Church, or to give their places to the regulars. This reform gave rise to the troubles of the next reign.

290. **Eadward the Martyr, 975–79.** — Of the two sons of Eadgar, Eadward the first-born was thirteen, Aethelred only seven years of age. Ead-

ward's election was advocated by friends of the Cluniac Reform and by the sounder portion of the nation, but opposed by the party of the ejected clerics, their friends and some ambitious nobles. The opposition party was headed by Aelfthrith, the step-mother of Eadward, who desired to secure the throne for her own son Aethelred. St. Dunstan prevented a civil war by his powerful pleading in the witenagemot for the rights of Eadward, who was chosen and crowned without further opposition. His constitution and virtues promised a long and prosperous reign; but the ambition of his step-mother cut it short by a cruel assassination. The crime of the mother ushered in the reign of one of the most luckless kings of England, Aethelred the Unready.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, transl. by Low; Thorpe. — Ch. W. Colby: *Sources of English History*, Part II., *Pre-Conquest Period.* — Lappenberg-Thorpe: *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, Part II., from Ecgberht to Cnut. — Freeman: *Continuity of Engl. History; Relations Between the Crowns of England and Scotland: Essays*, vol. 1. — Skene: *Celtic Scotland.* — E. W. Robertson: *Scotland Under Her Early Kings.* — Doran: *Hist. of Wales.* — Adams-Carter: *The Saints and Missionaries of the Anglo-Saxon Period.* — *Early Lives of St. Dunstan*, by Adalard (Eulogium); Bridferth; Osbert; Osbern; Eadmere (Vita). — *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. by Dr. Stubbs, (Roll's Series).

§ 7.

THE ANGLO-SAXON SYSTEM.

291. Formation of Kingdoms.—When the Jutes, Saxons and Angles arrived in Britain, they came in families and kindreds with their complete tribal organization; the ealdorman was the ruler of the tribe, not of the soil; the divisions were those of the people and the army (the folk and the host), not of the land; the laws were the customs of the nation, not of the territory; the courts were the people in council, and the conquered soil the land of the race, to a share of which every freeman had a right. The earliest chieftains were ealdormen or magistrates, representing civil, and heretogas or dukes, representing military rank. Kingdoms were formed, after the first settlements in Britain, by a union of several districts of ealdormen, and enlarged by victories over the Welsh.

292. The Soil.—The land was divided into alods, folkland and bookland. The Alod is a freeman's share of a conquered district absolutely allotted to him as spoil, in perfect and hereditary ownership. The owner was bound to no service for the alod except the personal obligation of appearing in the host and in the council. Folkland is the soil applied to the general use of the community or held by individuals on such terms, as the community in its character of collective landowner might allow.— Bookland is land made over by a document or charter to the Church, or to the retainers of the king (the land is booked). No part of the folkland could be converted into

bookland by the king without the consent of the national council. Bookland was subject to the threefold necessity (trinoda necessitas) of military service, the repair of bridges, and the maintenance of fortifications.

293. Social Divisions.—The social classes composing the Anglo-Saxon commonwealth were: (a) The unfree or slaves. Of these the majority were slaves by birth, because their forefathers had been either Roman slaves, British prisoners of war or other captives. Others were penal slaves who had lost their freedom by sentence of law. This servile class appeared most numerous in the territories where the British population maintained itself longest. In Kent and the Saxon states, they formed one-tenth of the population, in East Anglia scarcely one-half of that proportion. In the district of York and in the eastern parts of Mercia not a single slave was registered towards the end of the Saxon rule. The master had the right of selling the slave, but not beyond the sea. In other respects the condition of the servile class differed little from that of the indigent free. Their chief protection was the Church, whose legislation enforced on the masters a humane treatment of their serfs. Manumissions were of frequent occurrence and were greatly promoted by the clergy; and manumission speedily led to perfect freedom. (b) Dependent classes. The landless, homeless, kinless must have a lord, but could choose him. The freedmen or laets (lazzus = lazy, slow), were hereditary dependents enjoying personal rights. The rent-paying tenants and the personal followers of the king, of the ealdorman, and of the bishop were numbered with the dependent class though personally free. (c) Fully free were only the landowners; the churl (ceorl) possessing one hide of land (equivalent to about 33 English acres) was a simple freeman. The thane (thegn) with five hides and a place in the king's hall, was noble on account of his service which bound him to the king (ministerial nobility.) The eorl (not to be confounded with the earl of Canute's time) possessing forty hides was a freeman of gentle blood (territorial nobility). The ealdorman, the aetheling or prince of royal blood and the king formed the highest ranks of the fully free.

294. Wergild. — The life of every man had its value represented by the wergild and the value of his oath stood in proportion to his wergild. The life of a simple freeman was valued at 200 shillings, that of a Briton at one half the amount. The wergild of a thegn was 1,200 shillings, the king's high reeve was valued twice, the ealdorman four times, the king six times this amount. In king Aelfred's time conspiracy against the king's life was punishable with loss of life and property. A ceorl, who acquired five hides of land, became a thegn, and was valued accordingly; the thegn could rise to an eorl. But while *individual* ceorls could become thegns and thus noble, in consequence of the Danish invasions the simple freemen *as a class* suffered greatly and were obliged to commend themselves to some lord, and to follow him in order to obtain his protection.

295. **Political Divisions.** — The smallest subdivision of the free community was the township or tithing, originally numbering ten freemen with their families. The union of a number of townships for the purpose of judicial administration and military defense formed the Hundred or Wapentake. The union of a number of Hundreds formed the Shire governed by an ealdorman and a sheriff.

296. **Township and Hundred.** — Township is derived from tun = the hedge surrounding the homestead of the cultivator. The township assembly had the power of making by-laws, i. e. township laws (*by* being the name for townships of northern shires). Trials had to be carried to the Hundred Court. If the members were freeholders, the officer of the township (the tun-gerefa, town sheriff) was appointed by the king; if they were tenants of a lord, the lord appointed the officer. A well-fortified township was a burh, named from the fortified house and courtyard of the king, the noble or the magistrate. The assembly of the Hundred was both a court and a deliberative assembly.

297. **The Shire** — Two officers governed the Shire, the largest division of the kingdom. (1) The Ealdorman represented the ancient chief or underking in the shire. His office agrees, on the whole, with that of the national dukes of the Germans before and after the reign of Charles the Great. He was at first elected, and when the office became hereditary, confirmed by the king and the national council. He sat with the bishop and the sheriff in the folkmoot or popular assembly of the shire. He had seat and vote among the king's witan or advisers. He commanded the whole military force of the shire. (2) The Sheriff (from Scir = shire, and gerefa = royal officer) was appointed by the king alone. He answers to the Count (gerefa = graf) among the Franks and Germans on the continent. He was the executor of the laws, the chief judiciary of the shire, the tax-gatherer, and the administrator of the king's allodial domains.

298. **Thegnhood.** — Thanehood (Thegnhood) is the personal following of a great man whether he be the king, the ealdorman or the bishop. The Thegn is bound to his lord (= hlaford = loaf-giver) by the ties of personal loyalty in peace and in war. He shares the honor and gifts of his lord. The granting of folkland was one of the several forms by which the king could reward his thegns. Hence vassalage and military tenure existed in Anglo-Saxon England, but they were not inseparably welded together as in the feudalism of the Franks. The ministerial nobility of the thegnhood was, in course of time, developed into a territorial one, and supplanted the nobility by descent.

299. **The Witenagemot.** — The Witenagemot (the Gemot = assembly, of the Witan = the wise men) was the National Council of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Before the reign of Ecgberht each kingdom of the heptarchy had

its own witenagemot. The members of this assembly were the king, the president, prime mover and executive of the witenagemot, the ealdormen, the bishops and abbots and a number of the king's thegns.

The witan chose the king and could depose him. They could freely elect him from the family ruling by hereditary succession. A certain preference was given to first sons of crowned kings, to prominent characters, or to members recommended by the dying king. The witan chose or confirmed the ealdormen, decided questions of peace and of war, disposed of the army and the fleet, and advised in all matters of national importance. The witenagemot was the court of justice in the last resort, and could impose banishment, outlawry and capital punishment. It exercised the right of levying extraordinary taxes. Such were the war taxes against the Danes, and the Danegeld which was imposed to buy off their hostility.

300. **The King.** — The King (cyning=son of the nation) represents the unity and dignity of the nation, he is the defender of the public peace (the King's Peace), the leader of the army and the supreme judge of appeal. He appoints his sheriffs, thegns and officers. His person is sacred and inviolable by ecclesiastical unction and coronation; but he is not unimpeachable, as he is bound by his coronation oath to govern well and to maintain religion, justice and peace. The limited power of the Germanic prince became greatly enlarged among the Anglo-Saxons by the influence of the Church, the traditions of the Roman Empire, and the gradual merging of the smaller states into a few and finally into one large kingdom. The name Basileus, Augustus, frequently applied to the kings in the Chronicles, was, to the time of Cnut the Great, a mere title. The Anglo-Saxon Queen (cwen=wife) occupied an exalted position. She was the lady of the land. She was consecrated and crowned with the king, or separately, if he married afterwards, and sat on a throne by the king. A transgression against the respect due to her was punished as heavily as if committed against the king.

The royal revenues, apart from the allodial estates in different parts of the kingdom, consisted of a part of the judicial fines, of the right of maintenance of himself and his following in his progresses through the kingdom, the produce of wreckage, treasures and mines, ports and transport, tolls and market dues. He alone had an armed force, the thegns, directly subject to his order, for the fyrd or national levy could be summoned only by consent of the witan.

301. **The Church and the State.** — The relations between the Anglo-Saxon Church and State were expressed in the Council of Calcuith, 785. The Council, presided over by two legates of the Pope and signed by king Offa and the witan, declared that "as the king is the lord paramount in the State, so the bishop's authority is supreme in matters relating to the government and discipline of the Church." The coronation oath bound the king "to hold God's Church and all the Christian people of his realm in true peace."

While the hegemony of the Bretwaldas was unaccompanied by unity of organization or even confederation, the Anglo-Saxon Church was fully organized under the Archbishop of Canterbury as the Primate of England, and the Archbishop of York, (Lichfield in Mercia was only for a short time an archiepiscopal See). Leo III. confirmed to Canterbury the precedence in rank and authority of the primatial See. The Primate usually crowned the king. Before the time of Ecghberht the ecclesiastical Councils represented the whole nation; from them the nation learned the benefit of common action. These Councils were distinct assemblies from the witenagemots, the canons or church laws were drawn up exclusively by the clergy, but signed also by the king and the witan. The bishops sat with the caldorman and sheriff in the folkmoot, they legislated with the secular witan in the witenagemot, and signed with them the dooms of the kingdom. In the ecclesiastical division, the township, or a cluster of townships, was the parish. The present division of parishes is substantially the same as that introduced by Archbishop St. Theodore. The wergild of a bishop ranked with that of the caldorman, the wergild of an archbishop with that of the aetheling or prince of the blood.

The Anglo-Saxon Church stood in the closest relation with the Apostolic See. Every Archbishop and bishop took the oath of allegiance to the Pope as Supreme Head of the Church on earth. No Archbishop could consecrate another prelate, before he had received the Pallium from Rome. In earlier times the Pallium was sent to England, but since the reign of Ecgberht every Archbishop elect had to go to Rome for the Pallium. Pilgrimages to Rome were of annual occurrence; frequently kings went personally or sent embassies with alms to the Holy See. The Peter's Pence for the support of the Pope was paid since the ninth century, and was enjoined by the statute law of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The kings asked for and obtained the protection and confirmation of the Holy See for their religious and monastic foundations.

Stubbs: *Constitutional History of England*, vol. 1, chapters V.–VIII. — Kemble: *Saxons in England*. — Freeman: *Conquest*. — F. C. Montague: *The Elements of English Constitutional History*. — F. Pollock: *Anglo-Saxon Law*, E. H. R., v. 8, p. 239. — Hannis Taylor: *The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution*. — Th. P. Taswell-Langmead: *English Constit. History*. — Sir F. Pollock and Fr. Maitland: *The Hist. of the Engl. Law Before the Time of Edward I*. — Gardiner-Mullinger: *Introduction to the Study of Engl. Hist*. — Lappenberg-Thorpe: *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, part V.: *The Social State of the Anglo-Saxons*. — Vinogradoff: *Folkland:* E. H. R., v. 8, p. 1. — F. Seebohm: *Villainage in England:* E. H. R., v. 7, p. 444. — Allen: *Village Communities, etc., of the Anglo-Saxons*, in *Essays and Monographs*. — H. Thurston: *The Pallium:* C. T. S. P.; M. '92, July, p. 305.

§ 8.

THE POLITICAL CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY THE DANES.

302. Aethelred II., the Unready, 979–1016. — While Dunstan lived, the government continued sufficiently powerful to withstand attacks from

without and to provide against internal distraction. But after the death of St. Dunstan in the tenth year of Aethelred's reign, the government became one of favoritism and oppression. Weak, treacherous and cruel, the king estranged from himself the ealdormen and the nation. The pirates of Denmark soon discovered the distracted state of England. Plundering invasions into Kent and Wessex (980–82) were followed by attempts at new settlements (988–93). Swegen Forkbeard, the king of Denmark, became the leading spirit of these invasions. His father, Harald Blaatand, had partly christianized Denmark, but was overthrown by the heathen party led by his apostate son Swegen.

303. First Invasion by Swegen, 994. — In 994 Swegen allied himself with Olaf Triggvason, king of Norway, for a great combined expedition to England. Unable to take London, the enemy ravaged Kent, Essex and Sussex with impunity. They entered Wessex and were allowed to winter at Southampton, and a Danegeld of 16,000 pounds was raised to buy off the two kings. St. Aelfheah, the venerable bishop of Winchester and the disciple of St. Dunstan, at the head of an embassy mediated a separate peace with Olaf, who returned to Norway to devote the rest of his life to the conversion of his kingdom. The return of Olaf forced Swegen also to leave England. But as a great number of their warriors remained, expeditions for plunder, tribute and settlement continued. Delays and mismanagement on the part of the king, and inactivity or treachery on the part of the ealdormen, made any effective resistance impossible.

304. Swegen's Second Invasion, 1003. — Hearing, it seems, of a plot got up by the pirate people to destroy the king and the chiefs of the nation, Aethelred found no better means of protection than murder. He dispatched letters to every city and town of England to slay the invaders who had come during his reign, on St. Brice's day, Nov. 3, 1002. Wherever it was possible (*i. e.*, outside of Northumbria, East-Anglia and Danish Mercia), the order was mercilessly executed, as the English people had been demoralized by the atrocities of the invaders, the misdeeds of the king, and the feuds between Aethelred's worthless thanes and the ealdormen. The punishment quickly followed the crime. As soon as intelligence of the massacre and the murder of Swegen's sister,

Gunhild with her family, reached Denmark, Swegen Forkbeard swore at a death-feast in Jomburg that he would conquer the kingdom of the treacherous Aethelred. He landed in 1003, and opened a new period of widespread devastation and misery in unhappy England. But he did not yet succeed in conquering England.

Fresh fleets under earl Thorkill arrived in 1009. Sixteen shires, the greater part of England south of the Humber, were ravaged with fire and sword. Canterbury Cathedral was destroyed. St. Aelfheah, now Archbishop and Primate (1006–1012), was cruelly martyred. The spirit of the nation was crushed; the means of defense were utterly exhausted. The Danegeld had gradually risen from 12,000 to 48,000 pounds. Only London, repeatedly besieged, always held out.

305. Third Invasion of Swegen, and Conquest of England, 1013. — In July, 1013, Swegen arrived with his son Cnut to make good the vow of Jomburg by the last, greatest and decisive invasion. His magnificent fleet, under the command of Cnut, anchored in the Humber. Swegen received the submission of Northumbria and of the Five Boroughs of Mercia. He then marched conquering through the English part of Mercia; Oxford and Winchester submitted. London held out, and Swegen turned into Wessex, which he ravaged as far as Bath. There he received the submission of the western thegns. Resistance ceased. London opened her gates. The whole people looked upon Swegen as "full king." Lady Emma, the wife of king Aethelred, fled to her brother Richard the Good of Normandy, presently followed by her sons, the aethelings Eadward and Aelfred. Aethelred the Unready, deposed by the witenagemot, was the last to seek shelter in Normandy, 1014. The same year Swegen died; the Danes in England chose Cnut for their king.

306. Cnut the Great and Eadmund Ironside, 1016. — The witan voted for the restoration of Aethelred, who promised to amend his former faults. He returned to England and drove Cnut to his ships. The Danish king sailed home to return with a larger fleet in 1015. Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria were again over-

run. In the spring of 1016 England was Cnut's, except London, where Aethelred the Unready died the same year. The witenagemot chose Cnut king of England, while the citizens of London elected Eadmund Ironside, Aethelred's eldest son. Eadmund fought six battles with Cnut, of which one was a drawn battle, four were victorious, and the last and decisive battle of Assandun brought on the defeat and slaughter of the English through the treachery of Eadric, the ealdorman of Mercia, Aethelred's son-in-law, and a manifold traitor to the family of his benefactor. On the eve of a new battle the two kings changed their minds, agreed to a friendly meeting and divided England, Eadmund receiving the smaller South with the over-lordship of Britain, Cnut, the larger North. Before the end of that eventful year, however, Eadmund Ironside was assassinated by the traitor Eadric. At once the witenagemot met at London, where Cnut was chosen and crowned king of all England in the regular form.

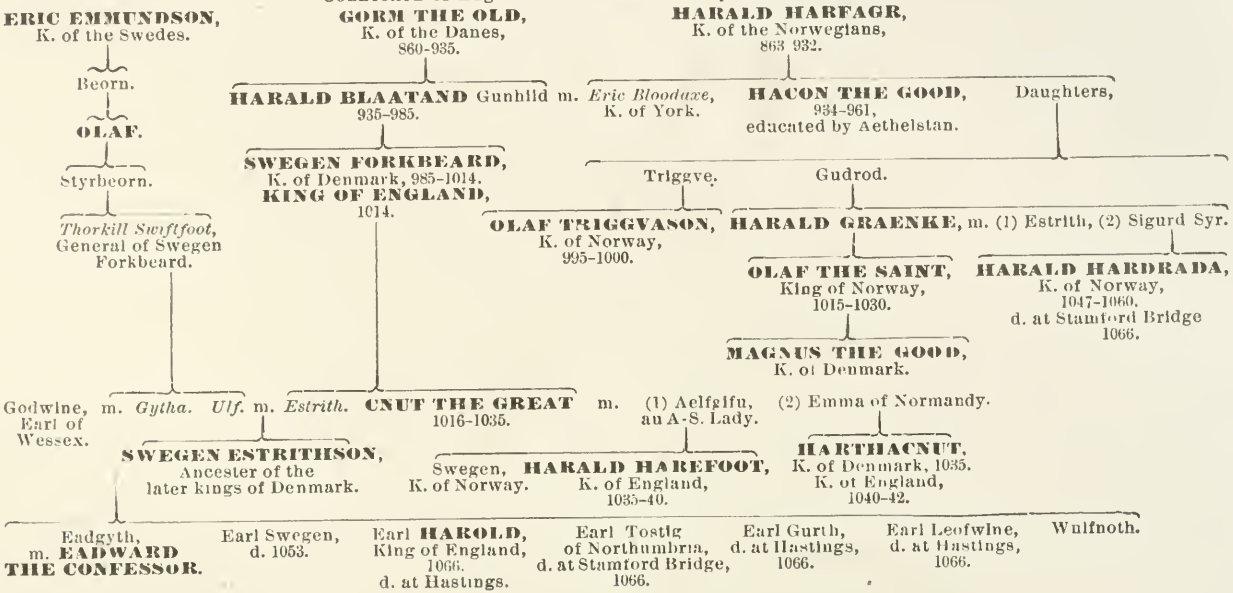
The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, transl. by J. Sephton. — Lappenberg-Thorpe: *Anglo-Saxon.* — Johnson: *The Normans in Europe* (Epochs of History). See Books in next §.

§ 9.

CNUT THE GREAT AND HIS SONS.

307. Cnut the Great, 1016–1035. — The witenagemot in which Cnut was chosen king, divided England into four governments. Wessex was to be ruled by the king; East-Anglia, Mercia and Northumberland by Earls (a title derived from the Jarls) of the king's appointment. The aethelings, Eadmund and Eadward, the sons of Eadmund Ironside, were sent to Hungary and educated at the court of St. Stephen. A number of influential adherents of the late dynasty were executed in a summary way or banished. The severity following upon the conquest ceased in 1018. Cnut embraced Christianity and was baptized. The influence of religion produced a surprising change in the ferocious and sanguinary warrior. Cnut married Emma of Normandy, the widow of Aethelred the Unready.

Connection of English and Scandivanian Dynasties.



308. Administration. — Cnut governed the English and the Danes in the spirit of Aelfred and by the laws of Eadgar. His laws were full of justice and piety; his government was impartial to both races and strictly English, the legislation being conducted only through the witenagemot. The earls were more strictly dependent upon the king than the ealdormen of former reigns. An obscure thegn of Wessex, Godwine the son of Wulfnoth, rose to a high place in the favor of Cnut, in consequence of a victory over the Wends in 1019, and was made earl of Wessex (1020). From this time the king gradually substituted Englishmen for Danes in high places. Heathen rites, piracy and slave markets were suppressed in all his dominions. Cnut's housecarls or household troops were the first standing army in the king's pay, and numbered from 3,000 to 6,000 Northmen and Englishmen. England enjoyed perfect peace for the eighteen years of his reign. A lively trade sprang up between the markets of London and York, and all the coasts from the Baltic to Constantinople. The Peter's Pence was revived in the whole kingdom. Cnut himself made a penitential pilgrimage to Rome in 1025, whence he wrote a famous letter to his subjects, speaking like a father to his children of whose love he is assured. He was a great benefactor to churches and monasteries in and out of England, and made restitution to all the holy places which had suffered during his or his father's wars. Unlike Aethelred the Unready, he favored the stricter regulars and chose from among them his chief advisers. He largely provided his Scandinavian possessions with bishops and ecclesiastics from England.

309. Foreign Affairs. — A Scotch invasion by Cnut (1018) was repelled by Malcolm, king of the Scots, who in his turn entered the English territory and annexed Lothian, the northern portion of Northumbria. For this province, if not for all Scotland, Malcolm subsequently paid homage to Cnut. The acquisition of a more civilized population and the choice of Edinburgh as the royal residence marks the rise of the Scotch kingdom. Cumberland was granted as an English fief to Duncan, Malcolm's grandson. When Duncan succeeded Malcolm (1034) as king of the Scots, Cumberland passed to his son Malcolm Canmore.

Olaf the Saint ruled Norway 1015 to 1028. He is renowned for his severe administration of justice, his zeal in spreading religion and civilization throughout his kingdom and in reforming the manners and morals of his people in every way. His Christian policy led to the formation of a pagan party. When Cnut summoned Olaf to hold the crown of Norway as his vassal, Olaf maintained his independence, until in Cnut's invasion of 1028 he was forsaken by his people and fled to Russia. Cnut was chosen king by the Norwegian Thing. St. Olaf trying to recover his land fell in battle, 1030.

Thus England under Cnut the Great was the center of an Empire of the North including Scotland (?), Cumberland, Wales, Norway, and Denmark. This union of northern states, together with the

co-operation of the Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Bremen-Hamburg, contributed largely to the consolidation of Christianity in the North. The Metropolitan See of Bremen-Hamburg at this time comprised Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Orkneys, Iceland and Greenland. The progress of Christianity in the Scandinavian kingdoms, in the course of this and the next century, necessitated the creation of separate Metropolitan Sees in these kingdoms. Accordingly Lund was chosen for Denmark, Drontheim for Norway, and Upsala for Sweden. Thus Scandinavia, for over two centuries the starting-post of the fiercest conquerors and destroyers of everything Christian, gradually settled down to the blessings of Christian order and civilization.

310. **Harold Harefoot, 1035–1040, and Harthacnut, 1040–42.** — Of the three sons of Cnut, Swegen ruled in Norway. One year after Cnut's death the Norwegians chose Magnus the Good, the son of Olaf the Saint, for their king, and drove Swegen to the court of his brother Harthacnut, to whom his father had left Denmark and his recommendation to the throne of England. But the majority of the people in England were as unwilling to receive the besotted Harthacnut as he was to leave Denmark. Accordingly the chiefs of the country to the north of the Thames declared for Harold Harefoot, so-called from his speed in the chase. The Saxons favored either Harthacnut as the son of Emma, or one of the sons of Aethelred, who maintained communications with their friends in England from the court of Normandy. A temporary settlement was reached by a witenagemot of Oxford, which gave the North to Harold and reserved the South to Harthacnut, to be administered by earl Godwine under the regency of Emma. Owing to the absence of Harthacnut, Eadward the aetheling, the son of Aethelred and Emma, made an unsuccessful attempt to regain the kingdom of his father. Then his brother Aelfred the aetheling, either on his own account, or decoyed by Harold, landed with a party, but was seized by earl Godwine, the king's agent, and tortured to death. Nearly 600 of his companions were either massacred or sold into slavery. It was Godwine's first political crime. Subsequently Emma was driven from England, and Harold for a short time was recognized by all England. He was succeeded by his brother Harthacnut, who gave England a short reign of oppression and violence, duly assisted by earl Godwine. By his death, in 1042, England and Denmark became separated, and the House of Cerdic once more mounted the throne of England in the person of Eadward the Confessor.

Sir E. S. Creasy: *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. 1. — *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, transl. by Low; Thorpe; Bohn's Library. — *Chronicles of William of Malmesbury; of Florence of Worcester:* Bohn's Library. — Church: *Stories from English Hist.* — Green: *The Making of England; The Conquest of England; Short History of the English People.* — Freeman: *Historical Geography.* — Lingard: *History of England*, chapt. 3–6 covers the whole period. See also books under § 1, and Histories of England, etc., at the end of the vol.

MIGRATIONS OF THE NORTHMEN AND NORMANS.

EARLIER MIGRATIONS.

States and Kings.	*Invasions.*	*Battles, Sieges, Etc.*	*Conversion.*
Eric Emmundson, founder of the **KINGDOM OF SWEDEN**, betw. 850 and 860. *Gorm the Old*, founder of the **KINGDOM OF DENMARK**, 860-935. *Harald Harfagr*, founder of the **KINGDOM OF NORWAY**, 863-932.	Northmen as Vikings or Creekmen invaded and raided the coasts of *England*, the *Frankish Empire*, *Spain* and *Italy* from the latter half of the 8th to the middle of the 9th century without settling. The establishment of the Scandinavian kingdoms increased the number of the vikings.	*Toulouse*, *Rouen*, *Paris*, *Rheims*, *Bordeaux*, *Soissons*, etc.; *Utrecht*, *Antwerp*, *Köln*, *Nymwegen*, *Aachen*, etc., sacked or destroyed. Famous defense of *Paris* by Count *Odo*, 885-86. *Arnulf of Carinthia* defeats 80,000 Northmen at *Löwen*, 891.	*Sweden* partly converted by **ST. ANSGAR**, Apostle of the Scandinavians, 829-65. *Denmark* first converted under *Harald Blaatand* (935-85). Christianity overthrown by *Swegen Forkbeard* (985-1014), restored by *Cnut the Great*. In *Norway* Christianity introduced under *Olaf Triggvason* (995-1000), consolidated under *Olaf the Saint* (1015-1030) and his son *Magnus the Good*. Catholic Christianity was introduced into Russia under *Vladimir*, great-grandson of *Ruric*, 988. He adopted St. Cyril's *Kyrilliza* and Bible. Soon after the Russians were drawn into the *Eastern schism*.
Ruric, chief of the Swedish *Rus*, founded the *Dynasty of Ruric* in **RUSSIA**, 862-1598. The dynastic name of *Rus* passed over to the *Slavs* conquered and ruled by Ruric. Ruric's successors styled themselves "Grand Princes of the Russians."	*Swedish* vikings invaded the *Slavonic* countries clustering around the Baltic, and conquered **KIEF**, the first capital of *Russia*. From Russia they invaded the *Greek Empire*, and sailed down the different rivers which empty into the *Black* and the *Caspian Seas*, and ravaged their banks and shores. Swedish Northmen in the 10th and 11th centuries served in *Constantinople* as the imperial body-guard (*Warings* or *Varangians*).		
Olaf the Fair, sea king of the *Dugalls* (Black Strangers), founded the **KINGDOM OF DUBLIN** about 863-1103. (Other Northmen: *Fingalls*, White Strangers). *Ivar the Boneless*, founded the dynasty of the *Hy-Ivars*, 866-1103.	From the kingdom of Dublin, the *Ostmen* as the Northmen were called, made invasions into the territory of the *Westmen*, or native Irish, causing a state of unrest and warfare lasting 300 years. They also frequently invaded *England* and *Scotland*.	*Ardrigh Brian's* victory at **CLONTARF**, 1014, broke the aggressive power of the Northmen in Ireland.	The conversion of the Ostmen dates from about 950 when king *Olaf Cuaran* was baptized in England. The first *Ostman bishop* was consecrated at Canterbury, 1038.

The **REPUBLIC OF ICELAND** was founded by Norwegian vikings under Harald Harfagr, 874–1264.

From *Iceland Greenland* was discovered and settled, and the coast of North America *sighted.*

On account of internal disturbances, Iceland was annexed by *Norway*, 1264.

Christianity was introduced by the *Allthing* or National Assembly, 1000; the first bishop of Iceland consecrated in *Bremen*, 1056.
They accepted Christianity in the 11th century.

The **SHETLAND AND ORKNEY** Islands were conquered and settled by *Harald Harfagr*, 875, and ruled by *Jarls.*

From these Islands the Northmen frequently invaded *Scotland*, *England*, and the islands of the *Irish Sea.*

The *Shetland* and *Orkneys* were annexed by *Scotland* in 1469.

ROLLO or **ROLF THE GANGER**, founder and first Duke of **NORMANDY. ROBERT OF NORMANDY** and his descendants ruled their dukedom almost as independent lords under the last *Carolingian* and the first *Capetian* kings of France.

After many battles fought in France and the conquest of *Rouen* by Rollo, King *Charles the Simple* conferred on him Normandy, with Rouen as capital, as a hereditary dukedom in the **TREATY OF ST. CLAIRE-SUR-EPTE**, 911, and changed the most dangerous assailers into defenders of France.
Expeditions starting from Normandy. See Exodus of the Normans.

Rollo baptized 911, assumed the name of *Robert.* Conversion of the Normans. Catholicity soon rose to a highly flourishing state in Normandy. *Herluin*, founder of the monastery of *Bec.* **LANFRANC** prior, **ST. ANSELM**, abbot of *Le Bec.*

Eric the Red discovered and settled **GREENLAND**, 985, from *Iceland* and *Norway*, and gave it the republican form of government prevailing in Iceland. The prosperous colony traded with the mother countries. Submitted to *Norway*, 1261.

Leif Ericson discovered (986) and settled (1002) the colony of **VINLAND**, on the coast of **NORTHERN MASSACHUSETTS** and **RHODE ISLAND.** Visited 1121 by *Eric Upsi*, bishop of Greenland. Time of abandonment or destruction unknown.

The colony of *Greenland* was destroyed in the fifteenth century (1418) by an invasion of savage tribes from the *American* continent, as is evident from a bull of *Nicholas V.* issued 1448.

Christianity was introduced in *Greenland* about 1000, by *Leif, son of Eric*, through missionaries obtained from *Olaf Triggvason.* First bishop *Eric Upsi*, about 1120. The See of *Gardar* numbered about 16 or 17 bishops.

MIGRATIONS OF THE NORTHMEN AND NORMANS — *Continued.*

ENGLAND AND THE NORTHMEN.

Kings.	*Invasions.*	*Battles.*	*Victories of — over.*	*Treaties & Territorial Changes.*
ECGBERHT, 802-837.	Danish invasions without settlement, 787-855.	**ELLANDUN**, 823.	Ecghberht over the Mercians.	*Ecgberht* united all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy into one England under his overlordship.
Aethelwulf, 837-858.	Northmen invasions and settlements from *Denmark, Norway, Dublin, the Isles*, 855-1015. The invaders indiscriminately called "*Danes.*"	*Hengestesdun*, 835.	Ecghberht over the Northmen.	Conquest of *Northumbria* and *East Anglia* by *Ivar the Boneless* and *Olaf the Fair*.
Aethelwulf's sons		Under *Aethelred the Saint.*		
Aethelbald, 858-60.		*Ashdown*, 871.	*Aethelred* and *Aelfred* over *Halfdene.*	
Aethelberht, 860-66.		Meredune (Merton) 871.	*Halfdene* over *Aethelred* and *Aelfred.*	*Guthrum, K. of East Anglia*, 870.
Aethelred I. the Saint, 866-71.	Invasion of *Northumbria* by *Halfdene*, 875.			
AELFRED THE GREAT, 871-901, reorganizer of the army, father of the English navy, restorer of learning and civilization, legislator, author.	Invasion of *Wessex* by *Guthrum*, 876.	**ETHANDUNE**, 878	**AELFRED** over **GUTHRUM.**	**PEACE OF WEDMORE**, 878. Kent, Wessex, and part of Mercia went to *Aelfred.* Essex, East Anglia, and part of Mercia to **GUTHRUM**, baptized **AETHELSTAN.**
	Danish invasion under *Hasting*, 893-97.	*Farnham.*	Prince *Eadward* and *Aethelfled of Mercia* over Danes.	Aelfred over-lord.
		On the Lea, 897.	English expel the Danes.	
EADWARD I. THE ELDER, 901-925.	Invasion by the *Northern League: Constantine*, K. of Scotland, *Sithric*, K. of Dublin and York, and the *Britons* of *Wales* and *Strathclyde.*			Conquest of *Essex* and *East Anglia* by Eadward, and of the *Five Boroughs* by the *Lady of Mercia. Scotland* and *Strathclyde* vassal-states of England.
In Mercia Aelfred's daughter *Aethelfled* "the *Lady of Mercia.*"				
AETHELSTAN, 925-940.	The Northern League joined by the *Jarls of Orkney.*	**BRUNANBURH**, 937.	**AETHELSTAN** and *Eric Bloodaxe* over the Northern League.	*Northumbria* annexed by *Aethelstan.* The Saexna-law and Danelaw united.
Eadmund the Magnificent, 940-46.				
Eadred, 946-55.				
Eadwig, 955-59.				

EADGAR THE PEACEFUL, 959-75.
Eadward II. the Martyr, 975-79.
AETHELRED II. THE UNREADY, 979-1016, m. *Emma of Normandy*. His evil rule encouraged new invasions.

The Danes, now christianized, and the English live peacefully together under the English law. Religious, monastic, educational and literary revival under **DUNSTAN**, abbot of *Glastonbury* and **ARCHBISHOP OF YORK**.

First invasion of **SWEGEN FORKBEARD** of Denmark, with *Olaf Triggvason* of Norway, 994. *Kent Essex, Sussex* and *Wessex* raided.
Massacre of the Danes on **ST. BRICE'S DAY** (Nov. 3), 1002, ordered by *Aethelred*, brought on the second invasion of *Swegen*, 1003, followed by minor expeditions.
Third invasion and **CONQUEST** of England by *Swegen*, 1014. Flight of Aethelred's family to *Normandy*.

1014. *Swegen Forkbeard*, and after his death, *Aethelred the Unready* (till 1016), kings of England. Invasion of **CNUT**, Swegen's son and successor in Denmark, 1015. Contest for royalty between *Cnut* and **EADMUND IRONSIDE**, 1015-1016. Eadmund, after four victories, defeated at **ASSANDUN**, 1016. England peacefully divided.

1016. *Eadmund Ironside* king in the South, *Cnut* king in the North.

CNUT THE GREAT, 1016-1035, sole king of England. Gave to England an impartial, peaceful, religious and prosperous rule. Succeeded by his sons: *Harold Harefoot* (1035-1040) and *Harthacnut* (1040-42).

THE EXODUS OF THE NORMANS.

Tancred of Hauteville, ancestor of the Norman princes of Southern Italy. His sons:

William Ironarm, Drogo and Humphrey
" " " "

Humphrey and his younger brother **ROBERT WISCARD**
ROBERT WISCARD

ROBERT WISCARD
Roger, the 12th son of Tancred of Hauteville aided by *Robert Wiscard*

Roger of Toesny sailed to *Spain*, fought the *Moors*, but founded no settlement, **1018**.
Norman pilgrims returning from the Holy Land fought against the *Saracens* at *Salerno*, **1016**.
The Norman *Rainulf* founded the *County of Aversa*, on territory granted by the Duke of *Naples*, **1029**.
conquered part of the island of *Sicily*, **1038**, but lost it through the fault of the *Byzantines;*
under Rainulf of Aversa conquered *Apulia*. **1040–43**; William Ironarm, *Count of Apulia*, succeeded by *Drogo*, by *Humphrey*, by his brother **ROBERT WISCARD**.
under Richard of Aversa defeated an army of **ST. LEO IX.** at **CIVITELLA**, **1053**, but after their victory the Normans owned themselves **VASSALS OF THE HOLY SEE**.
conquered *Calabria*, and united under his rule *Apulia, Calabria, Salerno, Amalfi*, and the dependencies of *Benevento* **1057**.
created *Duke of Apulia and Calabria* by **NICHOLAS II.** at Melfi, **1059**.
conquered the island of **SICILY** from the Saracens, **1061–91**; his son *Roger I.* united the conquests of his family as the first **KING OF THE TWO SICILIES**, 1130. The kingdom remained in the hands of the Normans till 1194.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, *Duke of Normandy* invaded and conquered **ENGLAND** in the **BATTLE OF HASTINGS**, **1066**.

CHAPTER III.

THE MAKING OF GERMANY AND THE RISE OF THE EMPIRE, 911–1056.

§ 1.

TRANSITION FROM THE CAROLINGIAN TO THE SAXON HOUSE.

311. Conrad I., the Frank, 911–918.— The unity of faith which Charles the Great had so carefully fostered on German soil prevented a rupture of the different German nations when the last Carolingian in Germany had passed away. The Saxons and the Franks offered the crown to Otto the Illustrious, duke of Saxony, but Otto himself on account of his advanced age diverted their choice towards Conrad of Franconia, who was duly elected. Conrad's attempts to strengthen the unity of the kingdom by moderating the power of the national dukes, involved him in a weary succession of feudal wars with his unruly vassals. Lorraine continued to acknowledge Charles the Simple as liege lord. Duke Henry of Saxony, the son of Otto the Illustrious, successfully disputed the king's authority in Thuringia. Alamannia or Suabia constituted itself as a dukedom under count Burkhard in defiance of the king. The Bavarian Arnulf raised the standard of rebellion. At the same time the king had to defend the country against incursions of the Danes, Slavs and Hungarians. Worn out by his cares and wounded in his last campaign in Bavaria, he generously followed the example of Otto the Illustrious, and with his dying breath recommended to the princes his enemy, Henry of Saxony, as the worthiest to succeed him.

312. The Saxon House, 919–1024 — Henry I., the Fowler, 919–936. — Henry was chosen by the Saxons and Franks, after the latter had adopted him as a Frank. It took Henry six years, before he succeeded, more by his prudence and moderation than by

force of arms, in reuniting the duchies with the kingdom. Even Lorraine returned to her allegiance, after the sceptre of France had passed from Charles the Simple to king Rudolph.

The great work which Henry proposed to himself, was to rid the kingdom of the Hungarian inroads. In 924 they had invaded Saxony in great numbers. To gain time he concluded with them a truce of nine years, during which time he paid them tribute.

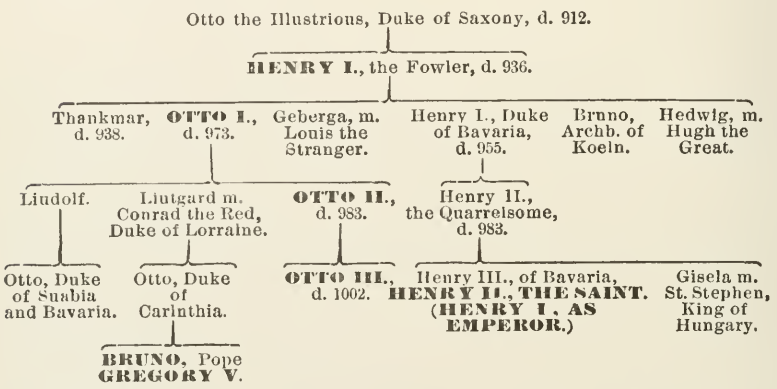
He now built castles and strongholds along the exposed frontiers of Saxony and Thuringia. Like Eadward I. of England he ordered assemblies, markets and public gatherings to be held within the walls of towns and fortified burroughs. Of every nine farmers bound to serve in the army one had to live within the walls of a new town and build houses to serve as a refuge for his comrades in case of an invasion, whilst the other eight had to till his farm. Thus rose Quedlinburg, Meissen, Merseburg and other towns. Others who were exposed on their isolated farms to the raids of the foe, began to gather around episcopal churches, great monasteries and royal estates. This dwelling behind walls was, however, not yet accompanied by municipal liberty, which belongs to a later period. The Saxon "following," the nation in arms, was transformed into an army of knights, for which Henry found a nucleus in the ever ready markmen. He formed a standing army, "the Merseburg Troop" of freebooters who had forfeited their lives, gave them land and arms, and taught them to defend instead of harassing their country.

313. The Wars of Henry I. — He trained the newly organized army in successful expeditions against the Wends and other northern Slavs. By his warfare with Slavs and Danes, and by establishing German settlements in the midst of the border nations, he laid the foundation of the great ring of Marches or *Marks*, whose organization was completed by his son Otto the Great. Duke St. Wenceslaw, who made himself the champion of Christianity against a strong paganizing party in Bohemia, was easily induced to recognize Henry's overlordship. These successes inspired his subjects with confidence in their king and with renewed energy to fight against the country's worst foes, the Hungarians. The truce having expired in 933, they again appeared in formidable strength. With an army of Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians and Suabians Henry defeated them on the river Unstrut to such good purpose that the realm for a long time enjoyed peace and security on the eastern frontiers. The following year he led the victorious army against

Gorm the Old, king of Denmark, who without venturing a battle hastened to make peace and to allow the foundation of the Danish Mark between the Eider and the Schley.

Though the kingdom under Henry was little more than a confederation of dukedoms under a recognized king, Henry's power and renown had grown sufficiently strong to make the recommendation of his son Otto as successor acceptable to the princes. Henry died in 936 and was buried in his own city of Quedlinburg, where St. Matilda, his widow, and his son Otto built over his tomb a great church and abbey for nuns, which became one of the most famous monastic institutions of northern Germany.

314. The Saxon House.



Henderson: *History of Germany in the Middle Ages.* — Emerton: *Mediaeval Europe.* — Oman: *Europe* (to *Conrad I.*) — Tout: *Empire and Papacy.* — Grübe: *Heroes of History. and Legend,* (to *Henry I.*). — Gregorovius-Hamilton: *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (Books I.-IV. come down to 800), Book V. — B. Jungmann: *De Romanis Pontificibus saeculi decimi,* v. IV. Dissert., 18, pp. 1-108 — Saxo Grammaticus: *Danish History,* transl. by Elton. — Giesebrecht: *Geschichte der deutchen Kaiserzeit* (Book I. *The German Nations United in the Frankish Empire*), *Conrad and Henry I.,* Bk. II ch. 1-5.

§ 2.

OTTO I., THE GREAT

315. Otto I, 936-973. **Internal Difficulties.**—Otto the great was the eldest son of Henry the Fowler and St. Matilda. Chosen by the Saxons and the Franks he received the homage of all the princes, when he was crowned at Aachen as king of the Franks. Otto had to do over the work of Conrad and Henry. Internal rebellions, wars with the Wends, attacks of the Danes, invasions of the Hungarians were repeated but overcome with more decisive

results. Otto began with distributing dukedoms as gifts of the crown, without regard to hereditary claims or popular election. Presently the great vassals were up in arms. Before Otto was secure in his power, he had to suppress conspiracies and revolts of the dukes of Bavaria, Franconia and Lorraine, of his elder brother Thankmar, who was slain in the Eresburg, and of his younger brother Henry, supported by Louis the Stranger, king of France. Henry finally humbled himself before his brother and received forgiveness. The war with the king of France was terminated by a treaty of peace and friendship, 937–942. The dukes whom he now appointed were mostly connected with his house. He kept Franconia in his own hand, gave Suabia to his son Liudolf, Lorraine to his son-in-law Conrad the Red, the ancestor of the Franconian Emperors, and Bavaria to his brother Henry, thereby displacing the younger Arnulf of Bavaria. Saxony was intrusted to Otto's faithful general, Herman Billung. But even this arrangement did not yet secure the allegiance of the dukedoms, "the five nations" as they were called. Opposition to Otto's powerful rule at home and to his Italian policy caused a bitter family feud, in which Liudolf, Conrad the Red and Arnulf were arrayed against Otto and Henry of Bavaria. But the league of the rebels had not sufficient cohesion. Arnulf fell in the siege of Ratisbon, Conrad the Red submitted to his father-in-law, and Liudolf was reconciled with his father by the good offices of St. Ulrich, 953–54.

316 **Religious, Educational and Literary Revival** — The death of St. Edith, the sister of Aethelstan of England, the first wife of Otto I., wrought a marked change in his character. His piety grew more earnest, and he began to take a personal part in the religious revival which marks his reign. St. Bruno, his younger brother, heretofore his chancellor, became Archbishop of Koeln with ducal powers over Lorraine. St. Ulrich graced the see of Augsburg, St. Conrad that of Constance. Learned Irish monks and bishops, driven by the Northmen from the Green Isle, contributed to the revival of the strict observance in the German monasteries which was inaugurated by Archbishop Bruno. At the court of Otto rose a school similar to the Palace school of Charles the Great Over 100 new classical manuscripts were imported from Italy. Ecclesiastical learning flourished in the monastic schools of St Gall, along the Rhine, and in Lorraine. A new literature sprang up in which German peculiarities were blended with classical forms The monk Widukind of Corvey wrote the annals of the Saxons; the abbess Hrotswitha of Gandersheim composed poems and comedies in Latin. Otto himself learned to read Latin. Under the guidance and example of St. Bruno, a new generation of prelates arose eager for the abolition of abuses, for education at home, and for missionary undertakings among the heathens.

317. Otto the Great and the Slavs and the Danes. — During the time of his internal conflicts and far beyond it, wars

with the frontier nations were carried on by Otto and his generals. Boleslaw of Bohemia, the murderer of his own brother St. Wenceslaw, defied for ten years the power of Otto. He was brought to submission in 950, and received baptism. The conversion of Bohemia was secured under his son Boleslaw II., the Pious, the founder of the bishopric of Prague. Gero, Margrave of the Wendish Mark, the conqueror of Brandenburg, fought against the southern Wends, and extended the Mark to the Oder. Herman Billung extended the frontiers against the northern Wends. Otto founded six bishopries among the Wendish tribes, and at a later period of his reign placed them with the permission of the Holy See under the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, his chief foundation. On the Oder, Otto for the first time came in contact with the Poles, whose territory extended to the frontiers of Bohemia. Duke Meseo, of the reigning dynasty of the Piasts (840–1370), acknowledged in some loose sense the supremacy of Germany, and opened his country to the preaching of the gospel. Christianity among the Poles was greatly promoted by Dombrowska, the pious daughter of the Bohemian duke, who became the wife of Mesco. Later, Mesco and Otto I. founded the bishopric of Posen. After the conclusion of the Bohemian peace, Otto, in the interest of Christianity, marched into Denmark as far as Jutland, and compelled Harald Bluetooth to own himself Otto's vassal, and to tolerate Christianity in his kingdom. Three bishopries were founded by Otto in the Danish Mark, or as it came to be called, the Mark of Schleswig. Thus Otto became the civilizer of vast regions inhabited by Slavonic tribes. The Marks which he organized along the northern and eastern frontiers, were on the one hand vigorous military states, on the other, homes of civilization and culture. The margraves, who commanded experienced troops, received extensive powers from Otto and were thoroughly loyal, formed a salutary counterpoise against the selfish policy of the dukes. The walled cities and fortified churches and monasteries of the Marks became centers of trade, refuges in times of invasion, and seminaries for the great missionary enterprises that in time won over all the frontier nations to Christianity.

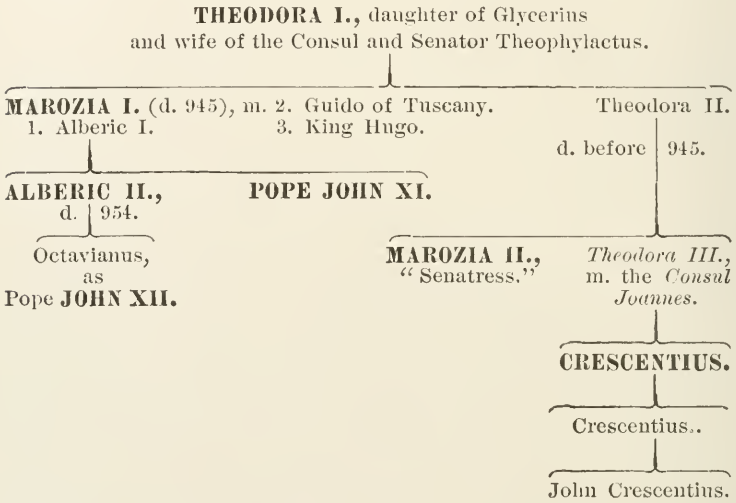
318. Otto the Great and the Magyars; Battle on the Lechfeld, 955. — In the family war mentioned before, the

Bavarians had called to their aid the heathen Magyars who once more roamed burning and slaying over a great part of Germany and northern Italy. In 955 they made a last and supreme effort to regain the vantage ground lost in the days of Henry the Fowler. One hundred thousand strong, it is said, they pitched their camp on the Lechfeld near Augsburg. St. Ulrich heroically defended his episcopal city. Otto I. with all the forces of the kingdom, including his Bohemian vassals, completely routed the Hungarians. In this memorable battle, Liudolf by his dauntless valor and Conrad the Red by his heroic death did atonement for their late rebellion. The defeated Magyars fled in wild disorder to Hungary never to return. The East Mark, out of which Austria arose in later times, was extended into the territory of the Hungarians. The Bohemians, too, profited by this battle, because they extended their rule at the expense of the Hungarians over all Moravia, which was made a Bohemian Mark. The Hungarians, discouraged in the West, made yet a few raids into the Eastern Empire, and then, settling down to till the soil and defend their homes, became accessible to the teachings of the gospel.

319. **The State of the Church.** — The time from the death of Formosus (896) to the death of John XII. was the darkest period in the history of the Church. The morality of the clergy, the monasteries and the people was sadly impaired. This deplorable state of affairs was due not so much to the personal character of the reigning Pontiffs, as to the turbulence of the political factions, Roman and Italian, to the almost incessant civil wars, and to the perversity of the princes and their lawless interference in church affairs. Of the twenty occupants of the Chair of St Peter during this time, thirteen or fourteen were worthy men and virtuous ecclesiastics, and not a few zealous promoters of faith and discipline. Only four were intruders or of doubtful legitimacy. The much maligned John X. (914–928) administered both ecclesiastical and civil affairs with great vigor and zeal. The charges of immorality published against him by Luitprand of Cremona* are false, unsupported by collateral evidence and in contradiction with his

* Luitprand was a bitter enemy of John X. and Berengar I. and wrote his history (Antipodosis=retribution) with the avowed purpose of getting even with his foes. He is passionate, rhetorical, strongly partisan, given to invective, and lacking in historical and critical temper. His authority, not questioned in earlier times, has been greatly impaired by modern research, because many of his statements have been proved false whilst others remain doubtful. This is the estimate of the best modern historians, such as Rohrbacher, Damberger, Dom Ceillier, Wattenbach, Muratori, Card. Hergenroether, A. Reumont, etc.

known character and life. He was overthrown, imprisoned and probably murdered by the party of Marozia I. This ill-famed woman belonged to the House of Theodora, the one family that above all others is responsible for the disorders of Rome. Its power rested on the possession of the Castle of St. Angelo.



It was in the reign of John XI. that his brother Alberic II. usurped all power in Rome for twenty-two years, placed his mother and brother under custody, and restricted John XI. exclusively to his spiritual functions. Apart from its illegality, however, his civil rule was not discreditable. Before his death, 954, he made arrangements for the election of his son Octavianus to the papal dignity. Octavianus was legitimately elected at the age of 18 (or 22), and was the first Pope who changed his name and assumed the title of John XII. He again united the spiritual and the temporal power in one hand. Both in his public and in his private life he was the most unworthy Pope of this period.

320. Otto the Great and Italy. — In 951 Otto had undertaken his first expedition to Italy. The year before Lothar, the last Burgundian king of Italy (see No. 258), had suddenly died or been murdered. Berengar of Ivrea, the rival of his House, was chosen to succeed him as Berengar II. To win over the Burgundian party, he endeavored to bring about a marriage between his son Adalbert and Lothar's widow Adelheid. Upon her refusal to become a party in this political scheme she was imprisoned and ill-treated. She succeeded, however, in escaping to her castle of Canossa, whence she appealed to Otto for protection, offering him her hand and the Italian king-

dom. Otto crossed the Alps, forced Berengar to raise the siege of Canossa, married Adelheid at Pavia, and was crowned king of Italy. Subsequently, he intrusted the administration of Italy to Berengar as his vassal. But Berengar and his son tyrannically abused their delegated powers. A first expedition to Italy led by Liudolf failed because Liudolf after twice defeating Berengar died of a malignant fever, and Berengar resumed his tyrannical sway. Finally Otto himself, strongly urged by John XII., who promised him the imperial crown, resolved to march to Italy. Before his departure he divided Lorraine into two dukedoms, Upper and Lower Lorraine, and saw his son Otto II. crowned at Aachen. In 961 he entered Italy for the second time. At his approach the army of Berengar melted away, the cities willingly opened their gates and Otto I. received the crown of Lombardy at Milan.

321. The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.— Otto was welcomed at Rome with great honors, and received together with Adelheid the imperial crown from John XII. By his coronation-oath he promised to protect the Church and her head, to issue no orders concerning the Holy See and the people of Rome without the advice of the Pope, to restore to the Holy See whatever of the Patrimony of St. Peter should come into his possession, and to bind his future representatives in Italy to protect the person and honor of the Pope and the property of St. Peter. The sovereignty of the Holy See in the States of the Church was formally recognized by Otto the Great. John XII. and the Romans swore never to aid the enemies of the Emperor, especially Berengar and Adalbert.

Thus the Holy Roman Empire was restored 161 years after the coronation of Charles the Great, and obtained in the course of time the name of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." "Holy" because its principal aim was still the protection of the Holy See and Catholic Christendom; "Roman Empire," as a substitute for the extinct Empire of the West; of the "German Nation," not because the *Emperor* had to belong to the German nation, but because the German princes had the right of *electing* the candidate and presenting him to the Pope for imperial coronation. It was owing partly to Otto's masterful character, partly to the unfortunate state of Rome and Italy, that the imperial rule of Otto and his successors tended towards a predominance of the imperial over the papal authority and a certain subordination of the Church and her pastors under the protectorship of the Emperor. This tendency betrayed itself not in any interference in doctrinal or spiritual matters but in the dominating

influence exercised by the Emperors upon the election of Popes, bishops and abbots. This influence, apart from the two years' schism caused by Otto I., did little damage to the Church under the Saxon House because all its members were men of great virtue and deeply religious, but the *principle* of this predominance was wrong, and under changed circumstances bound to produce deplorable abuses and grave dangers to Church and State.

322. **The Schism.** — After leaving Rome the Emperor began to receive in his own name the homage of provinces belonging to the Patrimony of St. Peter. On the other hand John XII. opened negotiations with Otto's enemies and received Adalbert in Rome. Thereupon the Emperor marched to Rome whilst John and his client hastily left the city. The Emperor then exacted a new oath from the Romans by which they promised him to elect no Pope except with his own consent and that of his son, a proceeding unwarrantable in law and unprecedented in history. But Otto went further; he gave his prestige to a schismatical synod which deposed the unworthy but legitimate John XII. by a process in which the same persons were the accusers, the witnesses and judges. Equally invalid was the election of the anti pope, the so-called Leo VIII., who proved an obedient servant to Otto (963). After the death of John XII. the Roman clergy and people made use of their ancient right of election and chose Benedict V. The Emperor compelled the new Pope to accompany him to Germany as state prisoner, and remanded him to the custody of the Archbishop of Hamburg. The Archbishop deeply impressed with the learning, humility and holy life of Benedict V. treated him with great honor till his death in 965. The anti pope also died the same year, and the schism was healed by the lawful election of John XIII. in the presence of imperial ambassadors. Berengar II. died in exile at Bamberg.

323. Third Expedition to Italy, 966-972. — Otto undertook a third expedition into Italy, in which he suppressed a revolt of the sons of Berengar II., protected the Pope against a new party of Roman nobles, and took steps to extend his power into southern Italy. Thereby southern Italy became for a time the field of action and the object of contention of the three great powers of the world, the Holy Roman Empire, the Greek Empire, and the forces of the Islam. Otto's plan was to obtain the hand of a Greek princess for his son Otto, with southern Italy as a dowry, and once in possession of Apulia and Calabria to drive the Arabs from Sicily. After long negotiations with the court of Constantinople, which was just undergoing the changes of a dynastic revolution, he obtained for his son

the hand of Theophano, the daughter of Emperor Romanus II., and the recognition of his imperial dignity, but not the expected dowry. Apulia and Calabria remained in the hands of the Greeks. Only the Lombardic dukedoms of Capua, Salerno and Benevento paid homage to Otto. Otto II., crowned Emperor in 967, celebrated the marriage with his highly-educated Greek bride at Rome, 972.

Otto I. was buried in the new cathedral of Magdeburg, the centre of the Slavonic missions. In an age of anarchy he had made Germany the leading power of Europe. But the Empire of Otto the Great was weaker in the West than that of Charles the Great. He was acknowledged as mediator by the rival parties of France; beyond this he exercised no imperial power in France or Burgundy. In the East, however, his Empire was stronger. Bohemia, Poland and Denmark did homage to Otto as Emperor and received his bishops whilst ambassadors from Denmark, Hungary, the Greek Empire, Russia and Bulgaria flocked to his court.

Henderson; Tout; Emerton; Grübe (see § 1). — Giesebrecht: *Otto I.* Book II, ch. 6-12; B. III, ch. 1-9. — C. W. Koch: *The Revolutions of Europe, Period 3.* — Florian Riess: *Die Zeiten Otto des Grossen:* St. v. 3, p. 135. — *Wahl und Krönung:* H. P. B., v. 4, p. 366. — *On Otto the Great and His Time:* Reumont: *Rom.* Bk. IV, ch. 3, n. 10 — B. V, ch. 1, No. 1. — R. Parsons: *The Pretended Deposition of Pope John XII.*, Studies, v. II, p. 114. — Grisar: *Das Privilegium Otto I.;* I. K. Z. '83, p. 569. — Dunham: *Hist. of Poland.* — Morfill: *Story of Poland.* — *On foundation of the bishoprics of Posen and Gnesen:* H. P. B. vol. 1, p. 291. — Vámbéry: *Story of Hungary.* — Godkin: *Hist. of Hungary and the Magyars.* — B. Jungman: *De indole Imperii sub Ottone Magno ejusque successoribus*, v. 4, Dissert. 19, part 3, p. 142-153. — J. Bryce: The Holy Roman Empire. — Freeman: *The Holy Rom. Emp.*, Essays, v. 1. — Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte*, Vol. IV. — Darras: *General Hist. of the Catholic Church.* — Hergenroether: *Kirchengeschichte* (Edit. 1876), v. 1, pp. 580-610; *On conversion of the Danes, Slavs, Hungarians*, pp. 715-735. — Alzog-Byrne: vol. II, pp. 223-441. — *On the character of the Holy Roman Empire and its relation to the Holy See:* F. X. Wernz: St., v. 10, pp. 198, 264; H. P. B., v. 31, p. 665; v. 51, p. 688; v. 72, p. 28.

§ 3.

THE LAST THREE EMPERORS OF THE SAXON HOUSE.

324. Otto II., 973-983 — Otto in Germany. — Otto II. was the son of Otto I. and St. Adelheid. Conspiracies and risings against the young Emperor followed the death of the great Otto. Henry the Quarrelsome of Bavaria, Boleslaw II. of Bohemia, Mesco of Poland, Harold of Denmark, Lorraine in the West, Carinthia in the East, were alternately in arms. In 978 the Carolingian Lothar without a declaration of war invaded Lorraine with 20,000 men, surprised Otto II. at Aachen, and drove him to Koeln. After plundering the city he hastily withdrew to France. Otto promptly declared war, and marched with 60,000 men to Paris, but unable to effect an entrance he returned, with some loss on the way, to Germany. In a peace meeting of

the two kings Lothar forever renounced Lotharingia. Otto left Lower Lorraine in the hands of Charles, the brother of Lothar, as a fief of the Empire (980). By 980 all the vassals having submitted, the Emperor's authority was firmly established. Henry the Quarrelsome was kept in honorable confinement, and the Emperor's nephew and friend, Otto, the son of Liudolf, was invested with the dukedoms of Suabia and Bavaria, the latter dukedom, however, being stripped of some of its eastern territory to strengthen the North-Mark and the East-Mark against the Bohemians and Hungarians.

325. Otto II. in Italy. — Otto crossed the Alps in 981 to free John XIII. from the domination of the elder Crescentius, the son of Theodora III. (See genealogy, No. 318.) Upon his approach to Rome the opposition party scattered and Crescentius retired to a monastery for the rest of his life. Otto's next intention was to free southern Italy from the Moslem invaders. The Mohammedans of Sicily, now ruled by the Fatimites of Egypt, had crossed over from Sicily and overrun Calabria in 976. Since that year they annually repeated their incursions, and extended them to the Longobardic territories of southern Italy. Otto II. took Naples in 981 and conquered the following year the whole of Apulia. Advancing into Calabria he defeated the Arabs in a great battle near the Cape Delle Colonne south of Cotrone in which the Fatimite leader fell. Too rashly Otto followed the fugitives on a road hemmed in between the ocean and the mountains. Still further south overwhelming numbers of Arabs poured from the passes and annihilated almost the whole army of the Emperor. Otto saved himself by swimming to a vessel which stood in the offing, 982. As the Arabs for a time discontinued their invasions from Sicily, Apulia and Calabria again fell into the hands of the Byzantines. These events in southern Italy reacted on the northern countries. The Danes under Swegen Forkbeard withdrew from their allegiance to the Empire. Many Wendish tribes relapsed into heathenism and destroyed a part of the work of Otto the Great. On the other hand Christianity maintained itself in Poland and Bohemia, and found entrance in Hungary where king Geysa, a descendant of Arpad, was baptized.

In a diet of German and Italian princes summoned by Otto II. to Verona, his son Otto III., still a child of three years, was unanimously chosen king. Returning to Rome, Otto II. was suddenly seized by a fever, died at the age of 28, and was buried in St. Peter's.

326. Otto III., 983–1002. — The news of the Emperor's death caused a general scramble for the regency in Germany. Henry the Quarrelsome, escaping from custody, seized the person of Otto III. It was St. Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, who restored the boy-king to his mother and secured the regency to Theophano. Henry the Quarrelsome pacified by his reinstatement as duke of Bavaria became henceforth Henry the Peaceful. After the death of Theophano in 991, the king's grandmother, St. Adelheid, carried on the government, assisted by Willigis of Mainz and the new duke of Bavaria, Henry the Saint. Both Adelheid and Otto were enthusiastic promoters of the Cluniac Reform which was rapidly spreading from Burgundy to France, Germany, Italy and England.

Otto received the highest education; from his great intellectual endowments he was called the Wonder of the World. He contributed more than his mother to the introduction of Greek art and court customs into Germany. He was fervently pious, and numbered among his personal and familiar friends the great saints, missionaries and reformers, St. Romuald, St. Nilus and St. Adalbert, who was slain while preaching the gospel to the heathen Prussians. The art of warfare Otto learned in the annual expeditions by which the Wends were again reduced to obedience. Otto personally assumed the reins of government in 995.

327. First Italian Expedition, 996. — Turbulent factions in Rome had caused new difficulties to the Holy See; the younger Crescentius usurped the exercise of all civil powers in the city. Against his tyranny John XV. appealed to Otto for aid. The Pope died, however, before Otto reached the city. Arriving in Rome the king proposed his chaplain Bruno, a great-grandson of Otto I., to the Roman clergy and people, and Bruno duly elected assumed the name of Gregory V., the first German Pope. His elevation was greeted with joy by the Cluniac reformers. Otto III. received the imperial crown from his hands. The power of Crescentius was greatly limited, and he owed it to the intercession of Gregory V. that he was not entirely removed from office. Gregory administered his high office in the spirit of Nicholas I.

328. Second Italian Expedition, 998–99. — Crescentius made an evil return for the kindness of Gregory. He incited a new revolt against his spiritual and temporal authority, so that Gregory had to leave Rome and call Otto to his aid. The Emperor conducted him to Rome, besieged and captured Crescentius in the Castle of St. Angelo, and had him executed on its walls. After the death of

Gregory V. (999) Gerbert, successively Archbishop of Rheims and Ravenna, the teacher of king Robert of France, and the friend and adviser of the Emperor, was proposed by Otto III. and elected by the clergy and people of Rome. Gerbert was the most learned man of his age. As Sylvester II., the first French Pope, he continued with energy the work of reformation begun by Gregory V., and was assisted by the ever-spreading influence of the Congregation of Cluny.

In 1000 Otto III. made a pilgrimage to the tomb of his friend, St. Adelbert, and assisted Boleslaw in founding seven bishoprics under the metropolitan See of Gnesen. Thence he visited the tomb of Charles the Great at Aachen, and returned to Italy, where the Lombardic dukedoms were in open revolt. Otto suppressed a rising in Rome, took Benevento and soon after died in the castle of Paterno at the foot of Mount Soracte at the early age of 22. Otto's ideals were generous, noble and unselfish, but hardly practical. He dreamt of a universal monarchy with its capital and centre at Rome, where Pope and Emperor should rule in harmony over a powerful Kingdom of God on earth. It was fortunate for the Church and the Empire that his plan was never realized.

329. Hungary, Poland, Venice. — Important events took place in the neighboring countries during the reign of Otto III. In Poland, Boleslaw Chabry extended his domain by wars with Pomeranians, Prussians, Russians and Bohemians, and founded the first great independent state of the Slavonic nation which entered into community with western Christendom. — In Hungary St. Stephen, the son of Geysa, overthrew the independent Hungarian chiefs, secured the Christian character of Hungary by founding bishopries under the metropolitan See of Gran, and introduced the civilization of his time in the settled Magyar state. Sylvester II. with the willing consent of the Emperor sent him in the year 1000 the royal crown, the "Apostolic Crown of Hungary," and confirmed his ecclesiastical foundations. St. Stephen was one of the greatest legislators of Europe (d. 1038). — In the merchant republic of Venice the Doge (=Duke, chief magistrate), Peter Orseolo, the greatest statesman of his time, subjected in a brilliant expedition Dalmatia, the first conquest of the rising republic of Venice.

330. Henry II., the Saint, 1002–1024. — When Otto died and Henry succeeded, Germany was surrounded by countries which

had either gained their independence, or were on the point of asserting it. Capetian France was fully independent in the West, Poland and Hungary in the East, Denmark in the North. Arduin, margrave of Ivrea, had gathered around him a powerful party, and received the Italian crown in 1002, just before Henry was crowned in Germany. Henry the Saint, as duke of Bavaria Henry III., as king of the Germans Henry II., as Emperor Henry I., had to fight the first two years of his reign against rebellious vassals. In 1004 he was ready to march against Arduin. He forced his way across the Alps; his arrival scattered an army of Arduin at Verona, and Henry was crowned king of Italy at Pavia, where an attack on the king by the citizens was punished with fire and sword. The punishment of Pavia for the time pacified the other cities and Henry returned to Germany.

331 **Henry's Policy at Home.** — In his wars with the great duke of Poland, Boleslaw Chabry, Henry succeeded in wresting Bohemia from his hands and restoring it to the ducal family of Bohemia, but the final peace left Poland in a state of practical independence from Germany. In Burgundy, Henry prepared for the annexation of this kingdom to Germany by a treaty with his uncle Rudolf III., the last and childless king of Burgundy. Baldwin of Flanders was first defeated and then invested with "imperial Flanders," so that the counts of Flanders now held both from France and Germany.

Henry applied himself with great energy to the task of pacifying the country, of curbing the lawlessness of the nobles by definite laws and recorded customs, of protecting the common man against oppression, and of strengthening the royal power by a strong alliance with the Church. He kept in his own hands the power which his predecessors had exercised over the higher clergy, and freely bestowed bishoprics and abbeys on men of his own choice, excellent churchmen, but appointed by the royal will rather than by canonical election. Their loyalty was the strongest support of the crown against the mighty lay-vassals. It was through his efforts that the zealous reformers of Cluny obtained a strong position in Germany. For all his public measures he asked the approbation of the princes and vassals, in whose midst he exercised a great authority by his eminent prudence and uncommon gifts of persuasion. He tolerated the hereditary transmission of great and small fiefs, but oppression of the people and appeals to the right of private feuds after a judicial decision, were mercilessly visited on the offenders, even on men nearest to the throne. Every province was put under oath to keep the peace of the land for a number of years. Personal favoritism was unknown during his reign; not one step was taken by the king to increase his family power; the Saint was absolutely indifferent as to who should

succeed him, but as long as he ruled he looked upon his charge as a fief of God, to whom he was responsible for his administration. He gave force to his enactments by reviving the Carolingian institution of the Missi dominici; yet in spite of all his efforts for peace he had repeatedly to draw his sword to suppress feuds or to punish rebellious vassals.

332. Henry's Policy in Italy, Second Expedition 1013-14. Henry II. undertook in 1013 his second expedition to Italy. Arduin of Ivrea, who had maintained himself in northern Italy during Henry's absence, became weary of a life of incessant warfare, and voluntarily retired to a monastery after a stormy reign of 14 years. With him died in 1015 the last national king of Italy. Henry protected Pope Benedict VIII. against the schismatical opposition of the Crescentian party, conducted him to Rome, and received with his wife, St. Kunigunda, the imperial crown, 1014.

This energetic Pontiff succeeded with the aid of *Genoa* and *Pisa* in expelling the Saracens from *Sardinia* and *Corsica*. He also took up the cause of the *Apulians* against the *Greeks* who oppressed them, and against the *Saracens* who invaded them; 250 Norman knights, while on a pilgrimage at Rome, joined at his request the Apulians, conquered a part of the country but were repulsed by fresh forces arriving from the Eastern Empire, who advanced so far as to attack the Patrimony of St. Peter.

333. Third Expedition to Italy, 1022. — Henry II., true to his office of Protector of the Church, crossed the Alps a third time, marched south with 60,000 men, took Capua, Salerno, and other places from the Byzantines, and received the homage of Naples. He created a county for the free Apulians near Monte Cassino, and left a few settlements of Norman knights in these regions, charged with the defense of the country against the Byzantines and Saracens. Benedict VIII. was full of zeal and activity for a reformation of manners. He agreed with Henry II. and Robert the Pious of France to summon a General Council of Western Christendom to Pavia. Everything seemed ready for a great renovation, and a general pacification by a Truce of God. The three great powers of the time, the Pope, the Emperor and the Congregation of Cluny, were united in this great aim. The western and northern princes, Robert of France, Cnut the Great of England, St. Olaf of Norway, Boleslaw Chabry of Poland, strongly sympathized with the ideas

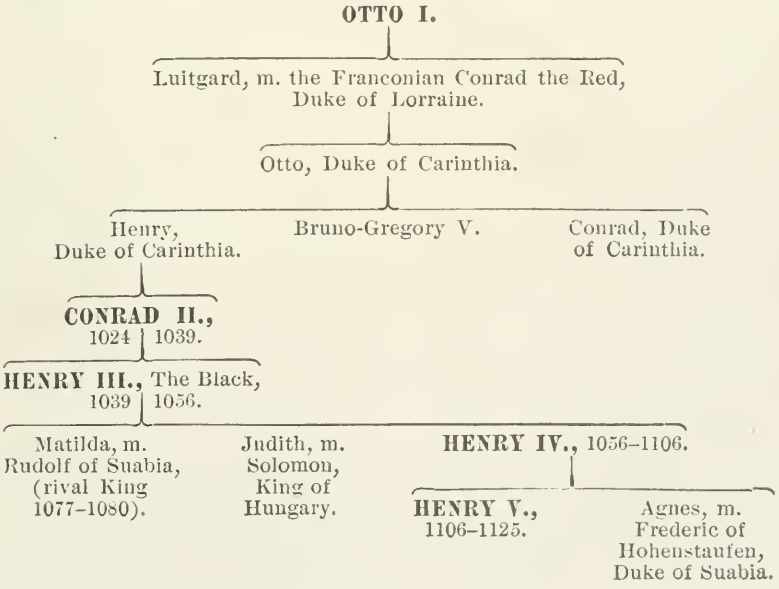
of Benedict and Henry; but the death of the Pope and the Emperor in the same year 1024 destroyed this hope and postponed the work of internal reformation to a later time.

Henderson; Bryce; Tout; Emerton. — Gregorovius: *Rome; the Ottos*, bk. VI.; *Henry II. to Death of Henry IV.*, bk. VII. — *From Otto II. to Henry II.*: Reumont; *Rom.*, bk. V., ch. 1. — Giesebrecht: *Otto II. and III.*, bk. III., chs. 9–18; *Henry II.*, bk. IV., chs. 1–12. — Lavisse: *General View of the Political History of Europe.* — Richter: *Annalen der Deutschen Geschichte*, 3 vol. to 1056. — B. Jungmann: *De Romanis Pontificibus Saeculi Undecimi:* v. 4, Dissert. 20, pp. 200–210. — Papencordt-Hoefler: *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* (chapt 1 to Charles the Great), ch. 2, pp. 169–190. — *On Benedict VIII.:* Church Histories; Katholik; '87, 2, pp. 407, 480, 624. — C. Lux: *On Pope Sylvester II. and Otto III.:* I. K. Z., '99, p. 346. — Roland Allen: *Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II.:* E. H. R., v. 7, p. 625, also '92-4. — MacLeod: *The Dynasty of Arpad:* M. '78, 2, p. 420. — L. Leger; *Hist. of Austria Hungary.* — Vàmbéry; Godkin: *Hungary.* — Morfill, Dunham; *Poland.* — Magnusson; Sidgwick: *Denmark.* — Maclear: *Apostles of Mediaeval Europe.*

§ 4.

THE FRANCONIAN OR SALIAN HOUSE, CONRAD II. AND HENRY III.

334. The Salian House and its Connection with the Saxon Dynasty.



335. Conrad II., 1024–1039. — The Franconian Conrad, connected with the Saxon House through Otto I.'s daughter Luitgard, was elected by a representative assembly of the five nations. By guaranteeing the union of Upper Lorraine, on the death of its reigning duke, with Lower Lorraine, he conciliated the firm allegiance of the duke of Lower Lorraine, and frustrated the schemes of some disaffected German princes to play that province into the hand of Robert I. of France. By ceding the Mark of Schleswig to Cnut the Great he prevented a threatened alliance between Denmark and Poland, where Mesco or Mieczislaw II. had succeeded the great Boleslaw Chabry. Having thus secured the peace of the realm, Conrad proceeded to Italy in 1026, overcame some local opposition in Lombardy, and was crowned Emperor by John XIX. in 1027. The solemnity was enhanced by the presence of Cnut the Great, then on his pilgrimage to Rome, and of Rudolph III. the last king of Burgundy. At Rudolf's death, in consequence of treaties made with Henry II. and Conrad II., Burgundy was united with Germany, and the union generally recognized in 1034. By the union of Lorraine and Burgundy with Germany the kingdom of the Middle Franks as by Treaty of Verdun (see No. 240) fell to the Empire. The Archbishop of Trier became henceforth chancellor for Burgundian affairs. By the annexation of Burgundy Cluny entered within the boundaries of the Empire.

336. Policy of Conrad II. — The chief aim of Conrad's policy was the aggrandizement of his family and the hereditary transmission of the royal power in his house. With this view he retained the dukedom of Franconia in his own hand, and bestowed Suabia and Bavaria on his son Henry, for whom he obtained the homage of the vassals and the royal crown, when Henry was still a boy. While he formally recognized the hereditary transmission of the greater fiefs — *the dukedoms excepted* — he limited the power of the great feudatories by making every small fief hereditary. He thus raised the royal power by a depression of the powers intermediate between the crown and the people. The losers in Germany were the great lay-feudatories, in Italy the bishops who enjoyed extensive rights of civil jurisdiction. In a feudal Constitution, which Conrad gave to Italy during his second sojourn (1037) he granted to small vassals the hereditary transmission of their fiefs and local courts composed of their own numbers with the right of immediate appeal from these courts to the Emperor or his count palatine. In the conflict which these measures roused between the Emperor and the Archbishop of Milan (Heribert), the latter for the first time armed

the lower classes, and organized a municipal militia, an institution which subsequently spread to all the cities of Italy. With their aid he maintained his former position in the territory of Milan.

337. **Conrad's Church Policy.** — Devoid of a literary and ecclesiastical education Conrad II. had no sympathy for the Cluniac Reform. He was personally pious, generous in building and endowing churches, and procured the very best liberal and religious education to his son Henry. But he followed the policy of not only filling episcopal sees with political adherents but of charging high prices for church appointments and encouraging thereby the evil practice of simony. Whilst the corruption of the *higher* clergy as it prevailed in France and Lombardy, had not yet found its way to Germany, many abuses, especially violations of the law of celibacy, existed among the *lower* clergy. Conrad II. was indifferent to the reformation of manners and the missions among the heathen frontier states; the religious fervor of preceding reigns fell into abeyance under his rule.

338. Henry III., the Black, 1039–1056. — Henry succeeded his father under the most favorable circumstances; he was already crowned king of Germany and Burgundy; the dukedoms of Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia were united in his hand; he was the first German king to succeed without opposition or rebellion.

Henry first turned his attention to the border states. He undertook two expeditions into Bohemia to prevent the union of Bohemia and Poland under Bretislaw, who had victoriously overrun Poland in 1040, and borne away the relics of St. Adalbert as his most highly treasured spoil. Worsted in the first Bohemian campaign Henry carried all before him in the second. Duke Bretislaw surrendered his country to Henry to receive it back on condition of homage and tribute, and became henceforth the king's trusted friend and ally. The acquisition of Bohemia as an integral part of the Empire proved of great importance in the later history of Germany. In Hungary a paganizing party had overthrown Peter, the nephew of St. Stephen. By two campaigns in Hungary and a great victory on the Raab (1044), Henry secured the throne to Peter and Christianity to the country. In the same way he restored order and Christianity in Poland and among the Wends. Both Peter of Hungary and Casimir of Poland owned allegiance to Henry III. By the year 1046 peace and obedience reigned from the Eider to Salerno. The Empire was now at the summit of its power. No Emperor since Charles the Great was so powerful as king Henry.

The young king, who combined high culture with practical wisdom, soared far above the cold selfishness of Conrad II.; he was deeply pious, of an ascetical turn, a sincere promoter of the Cluniac Reform, and stern in his resolution to suppress simony. But to be a Protector of the Church meant with him as with the Saxon Ottos, to exercise a sort of lordship over the Church. Henry, however, kept clear of all violent interference, and by virtue of the free consent of the legitimate electors the papal elections made under his influence were valid.

339. First Expedition to Italy, 1046-47; the Synods of Sutri and Rome. — When Henry III. arrived in Italy, he found three claimants to the Holy See. Benedict IX., the young son of Alberic, count of Tusculum, had been elected under the influence of the Tusculan party, 1033. He disgraced his position by many scandals. In 1044 the Crescentian party raised an antipope in the person of Sylvester III., who after a reign of three months was expelled by the Tusculans. To remove the scandals connected with the life of Benedict from the Church, the pious archpriest, John Gratian induced Benedict to resign by paying him a large sum of money, 1045. Hailed as the liberator of the church, he was himself duly elected. Assuming the name of Gregory VI., he ruled with wisdom and energy. Gregory VI. met Henry III. at Sutri and at his request presided over the synod of German and Italian bishops whom the Emperor had summoned to that city. But when Gregory saw that many bishops suspected his own election as tainted with simony on account of the money which he had paid to Benedict, he voluntarily resigned. The best proof that Gregory had acted in perfect good faith and was innocent of simony, was the steadfast adherence of Hildebrand, the uncompromising opponent of simony, both as Gregory's chaplain during his pontificate, and as the voluntary companion of his exile in Germany. From Sutri Henry proceeded to Rome, where a new synod elected Suidger, the bishop of Bamberg, as Clement II., by acclamation, Dec. 24, 1046. The following day Clement II. bestowed the imperial crowns on Henry the Black and his wife Agnes of Poitiers, the daughter of William of Aquitaine. St. Peter Damian, an ardent champion of ecclesiastical reform, and the friends of Cluny rejoiced over this termination of the schism.

340. Leo IX., 1049–1054. — Damasus II., St. Leo IX., Victor II., and Stephen X., the four German successors of Clement II. (1046–1058), all fully qualified for their exalted position, worked with great zeal for the reformation of the clergy and the freedom of ecclesiastical elections. Leo IX. obtained an eminent assistant in Hildebrand, who after Gregory's death in Germany had prepared himself at Cluny for the great work, for which the Providence of God had destined him. St. Leo was indefatigible in holding synods in Italy, France and Germany, in which simony and Nicolaitism * were condemned, and unworthy prelates deposed from their offices. After Leo's death Hildebrand accompanied an embassy to Germany and prevailed on Henry III. to designate *in the name of the clergy and people of Rome* Gebhard of Eichstädt, the king's friend and adviser, as Leo's successor. Gebhard, like Leo IX., accepted his nomination only on condition of being freely elected by the Roman clergy and people, and being thus elected assumed the name of Victor II.

341. Henry's Second Visit to Italy, 1055. — Henry entered Italy a second time in 1055, and summoned an Italian diet to the Roncalian Fields (near Piacenza), the first meeting of this kind in Italy. During his stay in Italy he restored to the Holy See possessions belonging to the Patrimony of St. Peter, and added new donations. The latter years of the Emperor were clouded with reverses in Hungary and with the plottings of disaffected princes at home, who chafed against the power-loving king and his stern personal rule. The Emperor was feared rather than loved. These adversities sobered and softened the character of Henry. The news that a Saxon army had been defeated by the Wends, brought him to his death-bed. He longed to see the Pope to put the affairs of the Empire in proper shape and Victor II. hastened to his side. Henry appointed him together with the Empress Agnes, guardian and regent for his son, the child-king Henry IV. who had been

* The name "Simony," *i. e.*, the purchase or sale of sacred things, especially of ecclesiastical dignities, is derived from Simon Magus who offered money to St. Peter to buy the gift of conferring the Holy Ghost. The term "Nicolaitism," adopted from an ancient sect, was applied by the Cluniac reformers to violations of clerical chastity or celibacy.

crowned 1054. Granting forgiveness, amnesty and restitution to all his enemies, Henry III., the most powerful, and one of the best Emperors, died at Goslar, his favorite city, 1056. Victor II. arranged the affairs of the Empire to the satisfaction of the princes, and returning to Rome appointed Anno, Archbishop of Koeln, as his vice-regent.

Hergenroether: *The Catholic Church and the Christian State;* vol. 2, Essay 9: *The Popes and the Holy Empire.* — Giesebrecht: *Conrad II., Henry III.; Book V.* — Henderson: *Germany.* — J. Bryce: *Holy Empire.* — Reumont: *Rom: Conrad II., Henry III.:* Bk. V., ch. 2. — Gregorovius: *Rome:* B. VII., *The 11th Century* (Henry II.-Henry IV.). — Dr. Hoefler; *Deutsche Päpste.* — *Hildebrand Before His Election:* Montalembert: *Monks of the West,* Bk. 19, chs. 2 and 3. — *State of Church and State at the Death of Henry III.:* Montalembert: Bk. 19, ch. 1. — A. Frind: *Kirchengeschichte Boehmens.* — Church Histories of Hergenroether; Alzog; Darras; vol. III., chs. 1 and 2. — On Denmark, Poland, Bohemia and Hungary see works quoted in former §§.

CAROLINGIANS.

Emperors and Kings.	*Germany.*	*Denmark.*	*Slavonic Nations.*	*Hungary.*
ARNULF OF CARINTHIA, 887-899; Emperor, 896-899.	Finally separated from the rest of the **FRANKISH EMPIRE**.	Independent under **GORM THE OLD**, 860-935.	The *Moravians* attacked in the east by the *Magyars*, in the west by *Arnulf*.	Settlement of Pannonia by the *Magyars* under **ARPAD**.
Italy. Arnulf's campaign in northern Italy against *Wido of Spoleto*, 894; delivered *Pope Formosus* from the *Castle of San Angelo*, 895; crowned *Emperor* 896.				
LUDWIG THE CHILD, 900-911. Last Carolingian in Germany.	*Rise of the National* Dukedoms: *Saxony* with *Thuringia*, *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, *Lorraine* which joined France.—Feudalism.		Destruction of the *Moravian* kingdom by the *Hungarians*, 906.	The Hungarians began to invade and harass *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*, and the *Burgundies*.
CONRAD THE FRANK, 911-918. Chosen by the Franks and the Saxons.	Feudal wars in Germany. *Alamannia* — *Suabia* a Dukedom.			*Bavaria*, *Suabia* and *Lorraine* raided by the *Hungarians*.

SAXON HOUSE 919-1024.

1. **HENRY I.**, the *Fowler*, the *city builder*, **919-936**.	Re-union of the duchies with the kingdom; reorganization of the army, cavalry; walled towns.	*Gorm the Old* compelled to restore the Elder as the boundary line.	Warfare against the *Wends*. The Dukedom of *Bohemia* reduced to vassalage.	Henry tributary to the Hungarians, 923. Henry's great victory over the Hungarians on the **UNSTRUT**, 933.
2. **OTTO I., THE GREAT, 936-973,** son of *Henry I.* and *St Matilda*. Married: 1. *St. Edith*, daughter	After quelling a number of feudal risings, he distributed the chief dukedoms among the members of his family, strengthened the cen-	*Harald Bluetooth, 935-985*, Otto's vassal. Introduction of Christianity in *Denmark* Otto's foundation of three bishoprics in	The *Wendish Mark* extended by *Margrave Gero* and *Hermann of Billung*. Otto founded six bishoprics among the Wends under the Metropolitan See of *Magdeburg*.—Con-	New invasions of the *Hungarians*, called in by the Bavarians in the family war of *Liudolf*, *Palsgrave Arnulf and Conrad the Red* against

of *Eadward the Elder* of England. 2. *St. Adelheid*, widow of *Lothar, King of Italy.* **EMPEROR, 962 - 973.**	tral power and made Germany the leading state of Europe. — Religious, educational and literary revival. — *St. Ulrich of Augsburg; St. Conrad of Constance; Bruno, Archbishop of Köln.*	the *Danish Mark* = *Mark of Schleswig.*	version of *Bohemia* under Duke *Boleslaw II, the Pious*, founder of the bishopric of *Prague.* — Conversion of *Poland* under Duke *Mesco* of the **PIASTS** (840–1370). Bishopric of *Posen* founded by *Otto I.* and *Mesco.*	*Otto I.* and *Henry of Bavaria*, 953-54.—**BATTLE of the LECHFELD, 955**; the *Hungarians*, completely defeated, ceased henceforth to invade the western states.

Italy. 1. Otto's first expedition to Italy, 951. King *Berengar II.* reduced to vassalage. Otto crowned *King of Italy* at *Pavia.*

2. Second expedition, 961-64. *Berengar* overthrown; Otto crowned at *Milan.* Imperial coronation by *John XII.* **THE EMPIRE RENEWED; HOLY EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN NATION, 962-1806.** Quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor. So-called deposition of *John XII.* and schism of two years caused by *Otto.*

3. Third expedition to and sojourn in Italy, 966-972. Coronation of *Otto II.*, 967. *Capua, Salerno* and *Benevento* pay homage to Otto. Marriage of *Otto II.* with *Theophano*, daughter of *Romanus II.*

OTTO II., 973-983, son of *Otto I.* and *St Adelheid.* Co-emperor 967-73. **EMPEROR 973-83.**	Risings of *Henry the Quarrelsome of Bavaria* and other princes; all opposition subdued in 978.	Harald Bluetooth reduced to obedience.	Boleslaw II. of Bohemia and Mesco of Poland in temporary revolt.	Baptism of Geysa, great-grandson of **ARPAD**; Geysa first Christian King of Hungary.

Otto in France. Otto surprised at *Aachen* by *Lothaire, K. of France*, in his attempt to reconquer *Lorraine.* Otto then reconquered *Lorraine*, invaded France, and unsuccessfully besieged *Paris.*

Otto in Italy, 981-83. Freed *John XIII.* from the domination of *Crescentius* He fought against the *Moslem* who had invaded southern Italy from *Sicily;* defeated them at *Cape delle Colonne*, but was defeated by them still further south; Otto II. died in *Rome*, 983.

OTTO III., 983-1002. Son of Otto II. and *Theophano.* **EMPEROR 991-1002.**	Regency of (a) *Theophano;* (b) *St. Adelheid* and *Willigis of Mainz.* Cluniac Reform.	The Danes under *Swegen Forkbeard* (985-1014) withdrew from the allegiance of the Empire.	*Wendish* tribes relapsed into heathenism; *Bohemia* and **POLAND** under **BOLESLAW CHABRY** maintain Christianity. Conquests of Boleslaw Chabry.	*Geysa's* son, **ST. STEPHEN**, great legislator and founder of churches (Metrop. See of Gran), received from **SYLVESTER II.** the *Apostolic Crown of Hungary*, 1000.

Otto's first expedition to *Italy*, 996. Election of *Bruno*, great-grandson of Otto I., as *Gregory V.*, first German Pope. The younger *Crescentius* reduced to obedience. Otto's coronation, 997.

Second expedition, 998-99. Castle of *San Angelo* stormed, *Crescentius* executed, *Gerbert-Sylvester II.*

Third expedition, 1001-1002, against the *Lombardic* dukes in revolt; taking of *Benevento*. Otto's death in the castle of *Paterno*.

HENRY II., THE SAINT, 1002-1024, grandson of *Otto I.'s* brother *Henry of Bavaria*. As Duke of Bavaria, *Henry III.*; *as* **EMPEROR, HENRY I., 1014-1024.** Married to St. Kunigunda.	After quelling feudal risings (1002-1004), Henry's rule was strong, prudent and thoroughly unselfish. Alliance with the Church. "The King's Peace" (Landfrieden), hereditary transmission of all fiefs. Oppression of people and private feuds vigorously punished.	Denmark fully independent.	In his wars with the Polish Duke **BOLESLAW CHABRY**, Henry wrested Bohemia from his hands and restored it to its Ducal Family: **THE PREMYSLIDES**, (about 722-1309). *Poland* practically independent.	*Hungary* independent under **ST. STEPHEN.**

Italy. Henry's first expedition, 1004. Defeat of *Arduin of Ivrea*, pacification of Northern Italy. Henry crowned king at *Pavia*.

Second expedition, 1013-14. Henry suppressing the opposition of the *Crescentians*, conducted **BENEDICT VIII.** to Rome, and was crowned Emperor, 1014. Death of Arduin of Ivrea, the **LAST NATIONAL KING OF ITALY** in monastic retirement, 1015.

Third expedition, 1022. He took *Capua* and *Salerno* from the *Byzantines*, received the homage of *Naples*, and engaged **NORMAN** Knights as defenders in Southern Italy.

THE FRANCONIAN OR SALIAN HOUSE, 1024-1125.

CONRAD II, 1024-1039. Descendant of *Conrad the Red* and *Luitgard, Otto I.'s* sister. **EMPEROR, 1027-1039.**	He retained the *dukedoms* in his family, made small and middle-sized fiefs hereditary. Chief aim: Aggrandizement and hereditary succession of his house. **ACQUISITION OF BURGUNDY** by treaty.	The *Danish Mark* or *Mark of Schleswig* abandoned to **CNUT THE GREAT**, king of *Denmark, England*, etc.	War with *Mesco* or *Wieczeslaw II.* of *Poland* (1030-31). The Duke of Poland became the Emperor's vassal.	The *Hungarians* under *St. Stephen* successfully repulsed an unjust invasion of *Conrad*, 1030.

First expedition to Italy, 1026–27. Suppression of local revolts. — Coronation by *John XIX.* in presence of *Cnut the Great* and *Rudolf III.*, last King of *Burgundy*, 1027.
Second expedition, 1036–38. Feudal constitution for Italy; hereditary tenure and local courts for small vassals.

		Poland.	*Bohemia.*	*Hungary.*
HENRY III., THE BLACK, 1039 – 1056, son of *Conrad II.* Henry III. crowned King of *Germany* and *Burgundy* and Duke of *Bavaria*, *Suabia* and *Franconia*. Married *Agnes of Poitiers*. **EMPEROR, 1046-1056.**	**GREATEST POWER AND EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE.** Stern rule of Henry III. Promotion of the Cluniac reform. Suppression of Simony. Introduction of the **TRUCE OF GOD**, 1043. Establishment of a general King's Peace within the Empire.	Poland was victoriously overrun by *Duke Bretislaw of Bohemia*, but was saved by Henry III from annexation to *Bohemia*. *Casimir of Poland* Henry's vassal.	Two expeditions against *Bretislaw* on behalf of *Poland*. *Bretislaw* owned himself Henry's vassal. **ACQUISITION OF BOHEMIA** by the Empire.	Henry defeated in two campaigns a paganizing party of *Hungarians* and secured the throne to *Peter*, *St. Stephen's* nephew, and Christianity to Hungary. King *Peter* Henry's vassal, 1044.

First expedition to Italy, 1046–47. Synods of *Sutri* and *Rome;* voluntary resignation of *Gregory VI.;* election of *Suidger*, Bishop of Bamberg, as *Clement II.*
Second Expedition, 1055. First Italian diet on the *Roncalian Fields* (near *Piacenza*). Possessions of the *Patrimony of St. Peter* restored and increased.

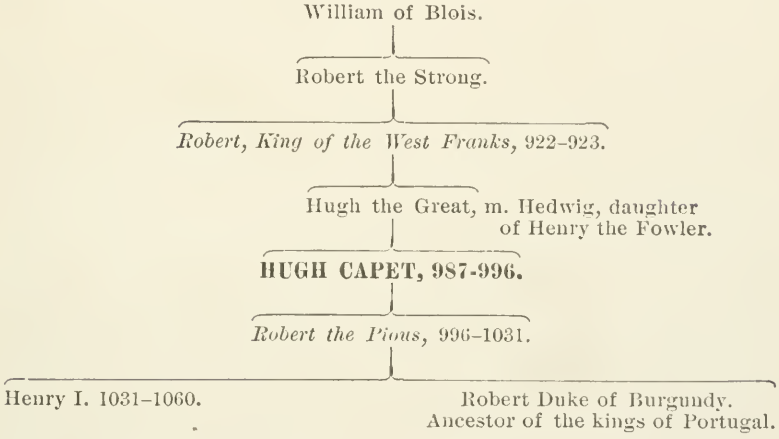
CHAPTER IV.

THE EXODUS OF THE NORMANS.

§ 1.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CAPETIAN FRANCE.

342. The Early Capetian House.



343. Hugh Capet, 987–996.— Hugh Capet was chosen king by all the great feudatories of France and crowned at Noyon. Emperor Otto III. acknowledged him on condition of his waiving all claims over Lorraine. He was king of the French, the new Romance people that had resulted from the amalgamation of Celts, Romans and Franks. This territory represented the kingdom of the West Franks as defined in the Treaty of Verdun. What royal power his electors allowed him to exercise, was supported by the armed assistance of the duke of Normandy and the count of Anjou, by his possession of one of the strongest fiefs of France, and by the Church which upheld the tradition of orderly rule. His hereditary

land, the dukedom of France, was situated, though not in a continuous stretch, in the very heart of the realm between the Seine and the Loire. He conciliated the bishops and abbots by restoring the church property confiscated before his election and gained the good will of the reformers by favoring the work of Cluny. Besides it was fortunate for the Capetian kings that the lay fiefs were intersected by ecclesiastical territories. Hence the accession of Hugh Capet was far from meeting the resistance which had accompanied the accession of all the Saxon kings in Germany. The only opposition was the temporary occupation of Laon by the Carolingian Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine, who, as a vassal of Germany, had been excluded from the succession. The hereditary character of Hugh's dynasty was recognized by the coronation of his son Robert in 987.

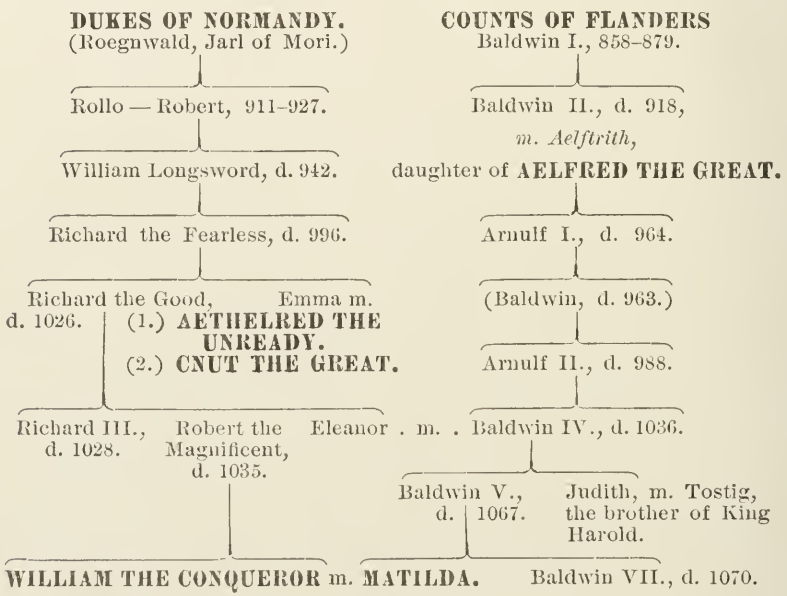
344. Robert the Pious, 996-1031, and Henry I, 1031-1060 — Robert II. earned his title by the exemplary life which he led from the year 1000 to his death. Submitting in that year to the sentence of Gregory V., he severed his connection with his kinswoman Bertha whom he had unlawfully wedded, and thereafter devoted his energies to the duties of his station, to study and religious poetry, and to deeds of charity. In the feudal wars forced upon him he was loyally supported by Richard the Good of Normandy. At the death of the last duke of Burgundy the king annexed the duchy to the crown and conferred it on his son and successor Henry I. (1031–1060). Henry I. assailed by his younger brother Robert and a party of disaffected vassals took refuge with the Norman duke Robert the Magnificent, so called from the lavish generosity which he displayed. Robert aided the king in winning back and defending his throne. To pacify his brother Henry I. invested him with the duchy of Burgundy, which thus became again and permanently separated from the crown.

345. The Truce of God. — The first Capetians never obtained more power than to be the first among equals; none of them was able to maintain the influence which Hugh the Great had wielded as duke of France. The weakest kings, they were the liege lords of the strongest vassals of Europe. William the Great of Aquitaine, pious, cultured, energetic, magnificent, was one of the most renowned princes on the continent. The counts of Flanders and Champagne measured arms with the Emperors Henry II. and Conrad II. Still more powerful were the dukes of Normandy. "The Normans stood in the forefront of all the great movements of the

time. They upheld the Capetians against the Carolingians. They became the disciples of Cluny and from the Norman abbey of Le Bec soon flowed a stream of culture and civilization that bid fair to rival Cluny itself. They covered their land with great minsters." They joined with Robert the Pious and William of Aquitaine in putting the ideas of Cluny in practice, and were the champions of the greater reform advocated by Hildebrand. Yet all the power of the great feudatories was insufficient to put a stop to the ceaseless wars of the barons, to the reign of brute force, of might over right. Parts of France swarmed with robber-knights who made even the residence of the king insecure. Churches and monasteries required forts and vassals for their defense. The most helpless class were the peasants, whose fields and harvests were destroyed with impunity by merciless raiders. In this state of anarchy the Church alone was strong enough to produce some order. Feudal lords steeped in guilt of blood threw away their swords, retired to monasteries, or made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, when the ban of the Church fell on them, or the Interdict, *i. e.*, a general prohibition of public service, on their districts. The clergy in many of its members were yet far from the ideal of their vocation; there was simony and luxury, but a growing improvement since the days of Capet was undeniable. Cluny had not only reformed monasteries; its work was felt among the secular clergy, the nobles and the people. In the terrible famine and fearful mortality, which afflicted France for several years before and after 1030, the clergy displayed heroic activity in succoring the people. Since 1031 a series of synods was held to secure a general pacification of the country. Sylvester II. had taken the initiative in this movement by the decree that all disputes about property must be settled by law and not by the sword. The outcome of these synods was the Treuga Dei or Truce of God, the last great work advocated by St. Odo of Cluny. All feuds had to rest from Wednesday evening till Monday morning under penalty of excommunication. A murder committed during this time was to be punished with long-continued exile and heavy ecclesiastical censures; lesser violences were punished accordingly both by the secular and ecclesiastical law. In this form the Truce of God was accepted for the first time in Aquitaine, 1031, and spread rapidly to Burgundy, Nor-

mandy and northern France. Henry III. in the diet of Constance, publicly forgave all his enemies and introduced the Truce of God into Germany, 1043. It did a great deal to soften the harshness of the warlike times and in part, at least, gave to the common man the protection which the weakness of the royal power was unable to afford. It was a victory of the Church in her endeavors to introduce order in the place of chaos. It was one of the first steps in the making of France, to curb by religious discipline the turbulent but powerful elements of her gifted race.

346. Normandy and Flanders.



347. William of Normandy and Henry I — Robert the Magnificent, the faithful ally of Henry I., died at Nice on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Before his departure he had made the Norman barons swear allegiance to his minor son, William the Bastard, who was bitterly hated on account of the humble lineage of his mother. At the accession of the boy-duke, isolated rebellions, building of baronial castles, oppression of the people, and assassinations became the order of the day. Several of his friends were murdered, his own life was repeatedly endangered. His youth was a

school of adversity, which explains the sternness and occasional harshness of his otherwise noble character. His private life was remarkable for its purity and piety.

In 1047 powerful nobles conspired and rose for the purpose of transferring the ducal coronet to a cousin of William. The duke called on his suzerain Henry I. for aid, and with him defeated the rebels in his first great battle at Val es Dunes. A coalition of French and Norman nobles, this time headed by the king himself who became alarmed at the greatness of Normandy, threatened William in 1054. The duke defeated the forces of Odo, the king's brother, at Mortemer, and drove the king home by his superior strategy. A last coalition between Henry I. and Geoffrey Martel, the head of the rising house of the counts of Anjou, made the disputed territory of Maine, situated between Normandy and Anjou, the objective point of attack. William's decisive victory over his enemies at Varaville ended the war in 1058. The conquest of Maine was the prelude to the conquest of England, the most important event in the Exodus of the Normans.

Emerton: *Mediæval Europe.* — Tout: *Empire and Papacy.* — Kitchin: *France.* — Lavisse: *General View.* — Guizot: *Popular History of France.* — *Robert the Pious and Philip I.:* Hergenroether: *Cath. Church and Christian State*, vol. 1, essay 6, § 1. — *Robert II., King of France:* Helgaud: *Vie du Roi Robert*, ed. par Guizot. — Adams: *Growth of the French Nation.* — Miss Kate Norgate: *Odo of Champagne, etc.* (*to Feudatories of Hugh Capet*). — *The Dukes of Normandy:* Palgrave, vols. II. and III. — *Normandy in Tenth Century:* Freeman: *Conquest*, ch. 4. — Achille Luchaire: *Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques de la France sous les Premiers Capétiens.* — *The Truce of God:* M., v. 9, p. 268. — *The Monks and Their Influence on Feudalism, etc.:* Montalembert: book 18. — *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte der Gottes und Landfrieden.* (*Truce of God and King's Peace.*)

§ 2.

EXODUS OF THE NORMANS TO SOUTHERN ITALY.

348. First Expeditions. — Under the prosperous reign of Richard II. the Good, Normandy, too small for the energies of its inhabitants, became the starting-point for new expeditions and conquests. Knights and barons in whom the old spirit of adventures was aroused, sought fields of individual enterprise in Spain, in Italy, in the Greek Empire. This exodus of the Normans culminated in the conquest of England, to which the whole power of the dukedom was summoned by William the Conqueror. Roger de Toesny opened this series of Norman undertakings by sailing to Spain, where he achieved wonders of bravery against the Moors, but failed to found a permanent settlement, 1018.

349. First Arrivals in Italy, 1016–1029. — In 1016 a party of forty Norman knights landed near Salerno on their return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Salerno was just besieged by a Saracen army from Sicily. The Normans asked for arms and horses and routed the enemy, after which they pursued their homeward journey. The citizens of Salerno sent embassadors and presents to Normandy to invite Norman knights to their country; 250 Norman knights joined the Apulians who had risen for their independence against the Eastern Empire, and conquered a great part of Apulia, but were finally defeated by the Byzantines. New reinforcements, however, continued to arrive. Henry II., the Saint, after his Apulian campaign, charged a number of Norman knights with the defense of the conquered districts. So far the Normans had not yet any territory of their own in southern Italy.

350. The County of Aversa, 1029. — In 1029 the duke of Naples gave to the Norman Rainulf a fertile district between Naples and Capua. Here Rainulf built the strong castle of Aversa, the center of the first Norman territory in Italy. Emperor Conrad II. handed to Rainulf the banner, which made the county of Aversa a banner-fief, and the count a prince of the Empire.

351. Campaign in Sicily, 1038. — In 1038 three of the twelve sons of the Norman lord Tancred of Hauteville, William Ironarm, Drogo and Humphrey, arrived and joined an army of Byzantines in their attempt to free the island of Sicily from the domination of the Saracens. The greater part of Sicily was conquered by the bravery of the Norman knights. But the vanity and avarice of the Greek commander alienated his new allies and the conquests were soon lost again. The Normans, however, had learned the way to the rich island.

352. Conquest of Apulia, 1040–43. — To avenge themselves on the Byzantines, twelve leaders, among them the three sons of Tancred of Hauteville, with 300 knights under the auspices of Rainulf of Aversa undertook the conquest of Apulia, and routed in 1041 three Greek armies. In a short time Apulia was conquered. The Norman army chose William Ironarm count of Apulia. Each of the twelve leaders received a town with its district. Melfi was made the center and common property of this military colony. Rainulf of Aversa was considered the common liegelord of all the Normans in Italy. The investiture of Drogo, the successor of William Ironarm, by Emperor Henry III. made him a prince of the Empire, 1047.

353. St. Leo IX. and the Normans. — The Norman conquerors treated the conquered inhabitants with much insolence and cruelty, occupied a large portion of the territory of Benevento belonging to the Patrimony of St.

Peter, and spared neither churches nor monasteries. St. Leo IX. admonished, warned and finally excommunicated the aggressors, without being able to put a stop to their ravages.

In 1053 St. Leo led an army of Germans and Italians against the enemy. From the walls of Civitella the Pope witnessed the complete defeat of his army by the three divisions of the Normans, led by Humphrey (the successor of Drogo), his brother Robert Wiscard and Richard of Aversa. The victorious Humphrey conducted the Pope to the Norman camp, where the whole army on their knees asked for absolution from the ban and promised fealty to the Pope. Leo invested the Normans as vassals of the Holy See with the conquests made and the territories yet to be conquered from the Saracens.

354. Conquest of Calabria by Robert Wiscard. — Robert Wiscard, the greatest of the sons of Tancred of Hauteville, had begun his career in a wooden fort on a barren rock, which his brother Drogo had given him on the frontiers of Apulia and Calabria.

From this Rocco di San Marco Robert made inroads into Calabria, increased the number of his followers, and became the terror of the Greeks. After the death of his brother Humphrey (1057) he was chosen count of Apulia, and completed the conquest of Calabria. In 1059 Pope Nicholas II. created him duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily which was yet to be conquered from the Saracens. His territory comprised, besides Apulia and Calabria, the Lombard principality of Salerno, the seat of famous theological and medical schools, the republic of Amalfi, the earliest and richest of Italy's commercial cities before the rise of Pisa, Genoa and Venice, and the inland dependencies of Benevento, the city being retained by the Roman Pontiff. The whole territory corresponded to the *subsequent kingdom of Naples.*

355. Conquest of Sicily, 1061-91. — Robert Wiscard now turned his eyes to Sicily. Dissensions among the Saracens assisted his enterprise. Invited by a fugitive Emir he landed south of Messina, took the city from the land side, and established a regular communication with the mainland, 1061. While Robert was occupied

at home in suppressing fresh attacks of the Greeks, Roger, his youngest brother and companion in arms, received the submission of many Saracen chiefs, and defeated the strongest of them in a great battle at Cerami, 1063. The reconquest of Bari, 1071, enabled Robert to join his brother in the siege of Palermo. The city was taken after a long siege by land and sea, and the great mosque restored to its original purpose as cathedral of Palermo, 1072. Robert kept for himself one-half of Palermo and Messina, and conferred the rest of Sicily with one-half of Calabria as fiefs on his brother, the "Great Count Roger of Sicily." Syracuse fell, 1086, and the conquest of Sicily was finished by the surrender of the last Saracen places, 1091.

A peculiar social and political life grew up in Sicily by the simultaneous presence of and manifold interchange between the Norman, Italian and Oriental elements. The Arabs were allowed to retain their worship and their customs if they were in other things obedient to their Norman rulers.

356. Attacks on the Greek Empire. — The imprisonment of a daughter of Robert Wiscard in a dynastic revolution at Constantinople induced the father to attack the Greek Empire. He stormed Corfu, defeated the new Emperor Alexius Comnenus and took Durazzo. He then invaded Macedon, but called home by the affairs of Apulia left his son Bohemund in command of his army, which soon after dispersed. In 1084 after driving Henry IV. from Rome and defeating the fleet of Venice, Robert Wiscard conquered the whole island of Corfu. The conqueror of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, who had defeated the greatest naval power of his time and driven before him the Emperors of the West and of the East, died at Corfu, 1085.

A. H. Johnson: *The Normans in Europe.* — Barlow: *Short History of the Normans in Southern Europe.* — *The Norman Kingdom in Sicily*, Q. R., '76, 1, p. 211. — Delart: *Les Normands en Italie.* — Freeman: *Normans in Palermo*, Essays, vol. 3. — R. Parsons: *St. Leo IX., etc.*, v. II., p. 137 (to Civitella). — Heinemann: *Geschichte der Normannen in Unteritalien und Sicilien.* — Proctor: *Hist. of Italy*, ch. 2, part 2.

§ 3.

ENGLAND UNDER EADWARD THE CONFESSOR — THE HOUSE OF CERDIC AND THE HOUSE OF GODWINE.

357. Eadward the Confessor or the Saint, 1042–1066. — Eadward the Confessor was brought up at the court of Richard the Good of Normandy, where he imbibed his Norman tastes and contracted his friendship with William the Conqueror, the son of Robert

the Magnificent. When Harthacnut, the last Danish king in England, died, Eadward, of the ancient House of Cerdic, was solemnly proclaimed king at London, and crowned at Winchester by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Averse to all worldly ambition Eadward conscientiously strove to promote religion, to enforce the ancient laws, to preserve the peace, and to lighten the burdens of the people by the abolition of the danegeld, by a strict administration of justice, and an open-handed generosity to the poor. The twenty-four years of his reign were free from foreign wars, an expedition into Scotland and some warfare on the Welsh borders excepted. The internal disturbances were caused by the ambition of Godwine and his sons. At his accession Eadward found three powerful nobles near the throne: the crafty Godwine, the pious Leofric, and the brave Siward, who bore the Danish titles of earls of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. Godwine, wary, unscrupulous, grasping, without sympathy for the Church, lived only for the aggrandizement of his family. Godwine's daughter became in 1045 the spouse of Eadward. Godwine and his sons a few years after the accession of Eadward were, as earls, in possession of the whole of the ancient kingdoms of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, Essex, East-Anglia and part of Mercia.

358. Godwine and His Sons Outlawed. — In his desire to do away with the plurality of holdings and other abuses, to secure men devoted to the Holy See, and to encourage the reformatory ideas of Cluny, Eadward promoted a few Norman and Lotharingian churchmen to bishoprics and abbeys, among them Robert, the abbot of Jumièges, as Archbishop of Canterbury. Other Normans were also preferred to smaller administrative or ministerial offices at court and elsewhere. The Godwines, who sympathized with the married secular clergy, resented these appointments. A broil between the followers of Eustace of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, on his return from a visit to Eadward, and the citizens of Dover, brought the rivalry between Godwine and the foreigners to an issue. Commanded to punish the insolence of his Dover men, Godwine disdained to obey. With two sons and three armies he marched to Gloucester, but was overawed by the superior forces of Eadward and his faithful earls Leofric and Siward. Summoned to a witenagemot in London, Godwine and his sons marched to Southwark with all

their forces, and refusing to appear without hostages before the witan, were outlawed as rebels in arms.

The family of Godwine fled to Baldwin of Flanders; his son Harold sailed to Ireland to rouse the Ostmen against his native country, 1051. During the interval of Godwine's absence William of Normandy visited king Eadward. Since some promise of succession made by Eadward to William the Conquerer must be admitted, it is probable that the promise was made on this occasion.

359. Godwine's Return and Death, 1052–53 — In 1052 an Irish fleet under Harold and his brother Leofwine reinforced by the fleet which Godwine had equipped in Flanders pillaged the coast from South Wales to Sandwich, swept away the ships of Eadward from the different harbors and advanced up the Thames. Eadward had meanwhile gathered 50 ships and stationed his troops on the northern bank of the river, whilst Godwine's army faced them on the southern. An engagement, however, was averted by the mediation of some nobles and bishops, among them Stigand, bishop of Winchester, a strong partisan of Godwine. When the Normans in London saw that a reconciliation was certain, they fled, some to their castles, Archbishop Robert and his retinue to Normandy. The witenagemot which followed, restored the rebels to their possessions and in the face of and in violation of canon law, elected Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury. On Easter Monday the following year Godwine dropped speechless at the king's table, and died in the royal apartments. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle ascribes his death to a blasphemous invocation of God by which he intended to purge himself of the murder of king Eadward's brother Aelfred (see No. 310). Harold succeeded to the earldom and power of his father.

360. Expedition to Scotland, 1054. — Duncan, the lawful king of Scotland, had been murdered by the usurper Macbeth (1040). Macbeth's reign of 17 years was on the whole a prosperous one. In 1050, it appears he made a pilgrimage to Rome to atone for the murder of Duncan. The hour of his fall, however, was approaching. Siward, the earl of Northumbia, at the head of his men and of a large body of the king's housecarls, undertook an expedition on a great scale in behalf of Malcolm Canmore, the son of the murdered king and of the earl's sister, and routed the forces of Macbeth, 1054. By the command of Eadward, Malcolm was proclaimed king of Scotland as Malcolm II. He obtained full possession of his kingdom when Macbeth was defeated and slain in the north of Scotland, 1057. When Siward died in 1055, king Eadward appointed Tostig, the

brother of Harold, as his successor. Tostig alone, of the sons of Godwine, was a loyal friend of Eadward, and sympathized with his higher aims.

361. Harold's March to the Throne — Harold steadily pursued the policy of his father with the difference that he aimed at the crown itself. Earldom after earldom was played into the hands of his brothers. When the king's nephew Eadward the aetheling and his family returned from Hungary Harold's partisans prevented a meeting between the king and his nephew, and the sudden death (or murder) of the aetheling at London removed one obstacle from Harold's path. His wars with the Welsh offered him another opportunity in the pursuit of his aim. For in his last invasion of South Wales in which he crushed out all resistance with barbarous cruelty, he made the Welsh swear allegiance not only to the king, but to himself. It was in this invasion that so many native boys were massacred, that king Eadward had to permit intermarriage between the Welsh and the English by law. Even his own brother Tostig had to make room for his ambition. In 1065 the Northumbrians revolted against the stern execution of justice and law which marked earl Tostig's rule. They clamored for Morkere, the brother of Eadwine of Mercia.

In the hope of gaining the votes of the two brothers in the coming election, Harold made common cause with the rebels. Not only did he prevent the king from sending aid to his friends but he boldly usurped the authority to banish his brother and to confirm the new earl. With profound grief Eadward parted from Tostig, who retired with a large following to Baldwin of Flanders, his father-in-law.

A. Streeter: *St. Edward of England, King and Confessor* (C. T. S. P.). — *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. by Luard. — *Eadward the Confessor and Harold:* Lingard, *Hist. of Engl.* (v. 1). — Lappenberg. *Restoration and End of the Anglo-Saxon Dynasty; A.-S. Kings*, part IV.: *The Reign of Eadward the Confessor.* — Freeman: *Conquest*, chs. 7, 9, 10. — *The Constitution of England in the 10th and 11th Centuries*, ch. 3. — *Eadward's Laws* in Thorpe: *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, and in Stubbs: *Select Charters.* — Chronicles: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle;* Roger de Hoveden (ed. Riley); *Annals of Engl. Hist.* (732–1201); Henry of Huntingdon: *Hist. of the English* to Henry II. (ed. F. Forrester); Florence of Worcester: *Chronicle* (ed. Th. Forrester); Wm. of Malmesbury: *Chronicles of the Kings of Engl. to K. Stephen* (ed. J. A. Giles — all in Bohn's Library).

§ 4.

THE YEAR 1066 — THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.

362. Eadward's Death and Harold's Election. — Harold's high-handed dealings in the Northumbrian revolt brought on Eadward's last illness. A few days before his death he had the satisfaction of ordering, though his sickness prevented him from witnessing, the consecration of Westminster Abbey which he had rebuilt in magnificent style — the last legacy bequeathed to England by the House of Cerdic. Eadward died January 3, 1066. The bishops and nobles who surrounded his death-bed quietly passed to the election and coronation of Harold. The transfer of the crown from the House of Cerdic to a family, which but a few years before had sprung from utter obscurity, was a revolution unheard of in the history of England or any other Teutonic nation.

St. Eadward was buried in his own foundation, Westminster Abbey. The memory, the name, the laws of Eadward the Confessor became a household word in England, the symbol of the Anglo-Saxon constitution. He had known no other desire than the happiness and prosperity of the people. He had relieved his subjects from all oppressive imposts. His administration of justice was without reproach. In many successive reigns both English freemen and Norman barons petitioned and contended for the "dooms of Eadward."

363. Stamford or Battle Bridge. — Magnus the Good, king of Denmark and Norway, in his warfare with Swegen Estrithson, had obtained a brave and adventurous ally in the person of Harald Hardrada (1047). This bold sea-rover had commanded the Varangians at Constantinople, fought against the Saracens in Sicily, prayed at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and married at the Russian court of Novgorod. At his death Magnus left Norway to Harald Hardrada and Denmark to his antagonist Swegen Estrithson. Earl Tostig, after his expulsion from Northumbria, found an ally in Harald Hardrada.

With the forces of Norway, of the islands of Shetland, Orkney and Iceland, with the Ostmen of Ireland and auxiliaries of Scotland, Harald Hardrada and Tostig entered the Humber, landed near York, and defeated Eadwine and Morkere. At Stamford Bridge, since called Battle Bridge, they were surprised and defeated by the forces of king Harold; Hardrada and Tostig fell in the battle.

Great were the rejoicings of Harold and his men, but their feasting was interrupted by the message, that William the Bastard of Normandy had landed with 60,000 men at Pevensey in Sussex and marched to Hastings.

Harold hastened south; besides his housecarls and mercenaries not many English joined him on this march to his doom. Even Eadwine and Morkere whom he had saved from destruction at Stamford Bridge gave him no help in return. Harold and his brothers entrenched themselves on a hill, known afterwards as Senlac.

364. **The Claims of William the Conqueror.** — William did not claim the crown of England. He claimed simply the right of presenting himself to the English people for election. Whilst the promise or *commendation* of St. Eadward gave him no strict right to the succession, it gave him according to Anglo-Saxon precedents the right of having his name fairly proposed to the witan. About two years before the death of the Confessor, Harold, in a channel cruise, had been cast upon the shore of Ponthieu and conducted to William's court. As the guest of the Norman duke he took a solemn oath by which he acknowledged the duke's right to succeed Eadward, professed himself *the man of William* and promised to act as the guardian of his interests in England. Harold's perjury — not denied by a single English chronicle of the time — gave William a just cause of war. William further professed to come in the interest of justice and religion; to avenge the blood of the aetheling Aelfred and the expulsion of Archbishop Robert of Canterbury. That William openly professed and honestly practiced a more than ordinary devotion to religion and to the Church is undeniable. The Truce of God was nowhere so strictly observed as in Normandy. He personally heard and judged the causes of the poor. Under his government churches rose on every side, monasteries were restored to the purity of their rule, churchmen became models in the discharge of their duties. His religious convictions made him look on himself as the champion of the Church in England, where scandals, usurpations of the witan in appointing and deposing bishops, and the mixing up of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction, had become deeply-rooted evils. The reformation of suchlike abuses by Eadward had been frustrated chiefly by the members of the House of Godwine, the enemies of monasticism and the avowed patrons of a married and corrupted clergy. William laid his case before the Holy See. Hildebrand upheld the righteousness of his claims. A bull of Alexander II. declared Harold an usurper and William the lawful claimant of the English throne. But in the last moment, it seems, William made yet three proposals to Harold each of which would have averted war: arbitration according to the English or Norman law or by the Pope, single combat, or fulfillment of Harold's oath. They were rejected.

365. The Battle of Hastings or Senlac, Oct. 14, 1066. — The night before the battle of Hastings the English drank and sang, the Normans prayed and confessed their sins. On the decisive day the Norman horsemen charged up the hill of Senlac, but two assaults of William who fought in the front ranks were repulsed. The duke then ordered a feigned retreat; part of the English rushed after the fugitives who, suddenly facing around, cut down their pursuers whilst others broke through the palisades on the hill. Once more the English rallied around their king; but when William ordered his archers to take high aim in the air, helmets and eyes were pierced by falling arrows, the ranks of the English were broken and Harold with his brothers fell around the standard of Wessex. The high altar of the magnificent Battle Abbey erected by William, marks the place where the last Anglo-Saxon king lost his kingdom and his life.

366. William's Coronation. — William the Conqueror at once occupied Dover and Romney to keep open his communications with Normandy, received the submission of Canterbury and Winchester, gave Southwark to the flames, and by crossing the Thames at Wallingford and marching into Hertfordshire cut off London from all possible succor from the northern earldoms. As he still desired to be elected king of England in the English fashion by the votes of the nation, he spared London. After the fall of Harold the English had chosen Eadgar the Aetheling king. But Eadgar himself at the head of a deputation of the witan, the bishops and the citizens came to offer the crown to William, the fourth king of England in 1066. William was crowned by the Archbishop of York on Christmas day in Westminster Abbey amid the shouts of "Yea, yea" from his new subjects.

E. A. Freeman: *The Norman Conquest of England*, vols. III. and IV. — Green: *The Conquest of England; The Making of England; Hist. of the Engl. People.* — *William the Conqueror;* Lingard, vol. 2, ch. 1. — *William the Conq.;* Palgrave: Book II., chs. 4–14. — Thierry-Hazlitt: *Conquest of England by the Normans.* — Johnson: *The Normans in Europe.* — Jewett: *Story of the Normans.* — *Lives of William the Conqr.* by Abbe', Cobbe (*Norman Kings*), Lamb (*Warrior Kings*), Planché (*The Conqueror and His Companions*). — Stanhope (Lord Mahon): *Harold of Norway*, also Q. R. '73, 2, p. 164. — *The Battle of Hastings:* Archer, E. H. R., v. 9, pp. 1, 602; Round: *ibid*, p. 209. — Miss Kate Norgate: *ib.*, pp. 41, 608. — H. B. George: *Battles of English History* (from Hastings to Crimea). — T. E. Bridgett: *The English Coronation Oath;* M. 96, 1, p. 305 (from the 8th century downward).

§ 5.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, KING OF ENGLAND, 1066–1087.

367. Suppression of Risings. — William first secured London by building a Norman castle, the beginning of the London Tower. Apart from an imposition of fines on the great landowners to atone for their resistance at Senlac and the confiscation of the landed property of the House of Godwine, William showed a desire to rule in the spirit of Aelfred and Eadward. The Charter of London was confirmed. The laws of England remained in full force. The northern earls, Eadwine and Morkere, who made submission, were allowed to retain their earldoms. His soldiers were kept in strict order. A few months after Senlac he appointed two regents and returned to Normandy leaving England to all appearance in profound peace. But his hold on the country was yet far from secure, it required still three campaigns (1067–71) to complete the conquest of England.

In his first campaign William suppressed a number of local risings void of plan or unity of action, pacified Kent and secured the West by the capture of Exeter. Thence he moved through Mercia into Northumberland and put down a revolt of the northern earls. Wherever he conquered or received the submission of districts in revolt he built his Norman castles. A party of order comprising Ealdred, the Archbishop of York, St. Wulfstan and other bishops as well as the most respected thanes, citizens and churls, stood firmly by the Norman king. It was at the head of an English army that he marched to Exeter and York.

Far more formidable was the national rising of 1069. The signal of the revolt came from Swegen Estrithson, king of Denmark, who sent a fleet to dispute the possession of England with the Norman king. Eadgar the Aetheling, with Scotch auxiliaries, the Northumbrians under national leaders, Ostmen from Ireland under the sons of king Harold, and the Saxons, rising in the southwest of England, co-operated in the well-planned insurrection. William was on the chase when he heard of the storming of York and the massacre of 3,000 Normans who formed its garrison. With a handful of horsemen he hurried to the Humber, and bought off the Danish fleet with a heavy sum of money. The allies melted away. He then marched westward, his army swelling in numbers from day to day, and quelled the revolt around

Shrewsbury and Exeter. To make all further resistance impossible, he returned to Northumbria, and reduced sixty miles of fertile ground between the Humber and the Tees to a howling wilderness. He ended his campaign by subduing Chester and the shires on the Welsh borders.

A last local rising was attempted by Hereward, an outlawed chief, who based his hopes on aid from Malcolm, king of Scotland, with whom Eadgar the Aetheling had for the second time found refuge after the rising of 1069. Hereward fortified himself on the island of Ely surrounded by the waters of the fens. It took William a year to dislodge him from the stronghold. Meanwhile Eadwine and Morkere had fled from William's court and joined the insurgents. Eadwine was murdered by his own attendants. Morkere was banished to Normandy. From Ely William marched into Scotland, pitched his camp on the Tay, and received the oath of fealty from Malcolm.

The "Rising of the Earls" (Roger of Hereford and Ralph de Wader of Norfolk) in 1075 was the first of the many risings of Norman barons, which formed for three generations the chief features in the reigns of William's successors. In this struggle between powerful vassals and their liege lords William and his successors were invariably supported by the Normans with small estates who clung to the crown for protection, by the clergy and by the English. William's impartial administration of justice had convinced Englishmen, that he was ready to do them justice wherever and by whomsoever they were wronged.

368. **William's Administration.** — William considered himself the lawful and immediate successor of Eadward, ignoring Harold as a usurper. Nothing was further from his thoughts than to root out the laws of England and to bring in a foreign code, or to abolish the use of the English language. Therefore he renewed the laws of Eadward, with additions of his own, and began at the age of forty-three to learn English in order to hear and decide the complaints of his subjects as an English king. William appointed earls sparingly, and gave them only one shire, or, if two, at least not adjoining ones, that no earl might become as powerful as the king. The great earldoms gradually disappeared, and were broken up into smaller shires. As bishoprics and abbeys became vacant, they were in most cases filled with Norman churchmen. The amalgamation of Englishmen and Normans began before his death, chiefly in the cities. Questions of property were decided by the English law. In other cases the English were tried by the English law, whilst the Normans were allowed to retain some of their own judicial forms. If sufficient direct evidence was wanting, the English could resort to

the English form of ordeal (water or hot iron) the Normans to the wager of battle or judicial combat. If an Englishman was accused by a Norman, the Englishman had the choice of either mode of trial. Normans declining ordeal or battle might purge themselves by oath. The punishment of death was replaced by blinding or mutilation. William enacted severe laws against the slave trade, and was zealously assisted by St. Wulfstan, the bishop of Worcester, in the abolition of the wicked traffic.

369. The Soil of England; Taxation; The Doomsday Book. — By the act of coronation the royal domains became legally William's. Folk-land was changed into king's land, *terra regis*. Soon after his coronation the king confiscated the lands of Godwine's family and assigned them partly to Norman followers, partly to suppliant Englishmen. Such confiscation was the ordinary punishment of rebellion in England. All other lands were returned with all their rights to the original owners upon their paying homage to William. Charters of church-lands were not meddled with. The immense riches of Harold went partly as rewards to his followers, the greater amount however to the poor, and to churches and monasteries in England, Normandy and Rome. The number of foreign landholders increased after each new rebellion, since by the same legal view the lands of the rebels were again confiscated and distributed.

Taxation was heavy in William's time and forms the chief complaint of the native chroniclers. But it must be borne in mind that only a system of regular taxation to which the English were as yet entirely unaccustomed, could enable the king to put down rebellious earls at home, defy invasion from abroad, and give the protection of a strong government to all his subjects. In William's day the life and property and female honor of rich and poor were effectively protected. To obtain a fair basis of taxation, William, acting upon a decree of the witenagemot of Gloucester, sent out commissioners into every shire to find out the exact number of all landholders, how much each landholder had in land and cattle, and the respective value of property in Eadward's time and in his. The immense record was finished in one year and forms one of the most valuable historical sources of any country. It was called the Domesday or Doomsday Book, because it was no more possible to appeal from it than from the last judgment. In 1086 all the landholders of England were summoned to the witenagemot of Salisbury. By a statute of that assembly every freeman of the kingdom whose *man* soever he was had to swear allegiance to the king against all other men. Thus not only the immediate vassals of the crown (as on the continent) but also the mediate vassals of the king, became guilty of treason by breaking their oath of fealty. After this witenagemot the king passed for the last time to Normandy.

370. William's Death, 1087. — The last years of William's life were embittered by rebellions of his son Robert, supported by Norman barons

and assisted by Philip I., king of France. In a feud with the king, William's horse stumbling on some hot ashes in the burning city of Mantes, the conqueror sustained a mortal injury. On his death-bed he lavished his treasures on the churches, monasteries and the poor, decreed a general release of prisoners, bequeathed England to God, with a wish that his second son William should be crowned by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, gave Normandy to his eldest son Robert, and 5,000 pounds to Henry, the youngest. He died September 9, 1087.

371. Scotland Under Malcolm III. and St. Margaret. — Eadgar the Aetheling soon after William's coronation fled with his mother and his sisters to Scotland and was hospitably welcomed by Malcolm III. Canmore. In 1066 the king married Eadgar's sister, St. Margaret. The saintly queen wholly dedicated her life to the service of God and the welfare of the Scottish people. Through her gentle influence the temper of Malcolm was wonderfully reformed, the spiritual and secular education of the Scots advanced, the Church of Scotland more closely united with the Holy See, Scotch customs brought into conformity with those of western Christendom, the monastery of Iona, since the first Northmen invasion of 986 a heap of ruins, rebuilt, and the poor, the sick, the pilgrims flocking to St. Andrew's overwhelmed with the benefactions of the queen. When on public occasions she addressed the bishops and nobles of Scotland, she found a faithful interpreter in her husband who knew the English language as well as his own. Through St. Margaret the blood of the Anglo-Saxon kings was transmitted to the Norman, Angevin, Stuart and Welfic kings of England. Eadgar the Aetheling was finally reconciled with William the Conqueror in Normandy, 1074. Malcolm III. was slain in an invasion of Northumberland. St. Margaret died three days later, 1093.

The highly prosperous reign of Malcolm and St. Margaret formed a transition to a new period in Scotch history. "Saxon thanes had fled in numbers from England to Scotland before the irresistible advance of William, and these were followed by many Norman nobles who could not brook the iron rule of the Conqueror. Malcolm, too, in his constant wars with England, had taken numerous prisoners, who had settled down in various parts of Scotland, especially in the North, and great numbers of the inhabitants of Northumbria had crossed the Tweed into the Scottish province of Lothian, on the approach of William with his devastating army. The more advanced civilization of the English who thronged the Scottish court and filled the

various offices of the State, could not fail to exert a lasting influence on the ruder native population of the country. Thus the Gaelic element rapidly lost ground and was driven into the mountainous districts of the North and West making way for the preponderance of Saxon influence and the gradual introduction of the feudal system."

372. General Results of William's Conquest. — The conquest made England one as it had never been before. It brought the country into much closer relations with the continent, than had existed heretofore. It increased the trade with France, and attracted many peaceful Normans to the mercantile cities of England. It produced a livelier intercourse with the Holy See and brought about the abolition of national ecclesiastical abuses. The mixed witenagemot gave way to separate assemblies: the Great Council to which bishops, earls and barons were summoned to advise in temporal affairs, and the Convocation or synod of the bishops who deliberated on spiritual affairs. According to canon law, churchmen were exempted from all temporal jurisdiction, subject only to ecclesiastical courts. The bishops became baronized since they held their royal grants or temporalities by military tenure, which obliged them to furnish their contingents to the king's levies. The learned men of England entered into the general republic of letters, and henceforth maintained an international intercourse with the learned class on the continent. Foreigners, like Lanfranc, St. Hugh of Burgundy, bishop of Lincoln (1186–1200), St. Anselm, abbot of Bec, were promoted in England, and Englishmen abroad. The conquest finally helped to infuse the spirit of the Crusades into the nation.

E. A. Freeman: *William the Conqueror* (*Twelve English Statesmen*); *Domesday, Conquest*, ch. 22; *Results of the Conquest*, ch. 24-26. — Card. Newman: *The Northmen and Normans in England* (*Hist. Sketches*). — Lappenberg: *Hist. of England under the Norman Kings.* — Henderson: *Laws of William the Conqueror: Sel. Hist. Docs.* — *Result of the Conquest;* Palgrave, Bk. II, ch. 15. — Creighton: *England a Continental Power*, 1066–1216. — Hannis Taylor: *The Growth of the English Constitution.* — *Domesday Book, Fusion Feudalism:* M. '76, 2, p. 496. — F. W. Maitland: *Domesday Book and Beyond.* — Fr. Pollock: *A Brief Survey of Domesday:* E. H. R., v. 11, p. 209. — W. H. Stevenson: *The Hundreds of Domesday*: E. H. R., v. 5, p. 95. — *Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, tr. by Forbes-Leith, S. J. — Turgot: *Life of St. Margaret* (ed. by Forbes-Leith) M. G. J. Kinloch: *Hist. of Scotland* (*from introduction of Christianity to James I.*).

CHAPTER V.

THE CONTEST ABOUT LAY-INVESTITURE.

§ 1.

BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF HENRY IV., 1056–1075.

373. The Abuses of the Period. — The moral evils of Nicolaitism and Simony, which reached their climax in the eleventh century, had their root in Lay-Investiture. This Investiture grew out of the feudal system. Besides alods and other purely ecclesiastical revenues, the churches, bishoprics and abbeys were also in possession of royal and imperial fiefs, such as large estates, castles, towns and counties over which the bishops and abbots exercised the same temporal rule (the regalia) as lay-vassals over their territories. The transfer of these fiefs was called investiture. A lay-vassal when receiving his fief used to kneel before his king or lord, place his hands between the hands of his liege, and declare himself his *man* (homo, homage). He then received a banner from the king as the sign of investiture. A similar custom began to prevail concerning ecclesiastical fiefs, inasmuch as bishops and abbots also went to the king to be invested with their temporalities. Now as the king could not well put a military ensign into the hand of a prelate, the pastoral ring and staff, the emblems of church jurisdiction, were chosen to signify the bestowal of ecclesiastical fiefs and regalia. This ceremony did not by itself destroy the freedom of canonical elections as long as it *followed* the election. But gradually the princes extended their claims. They ordered the ring and the staff of a deceased bishop or abbot to be brought to them, and handed them over to the churchman whom they intended to promote, before the *Chapter*, i. e., the clergy of the cathedral or abbey, had a chance to elect and present their candidate. An archbishop was then *ordered* to consecrate the appointee of the secular prince. Thus the moment of investiture came to be looked upon as the moment when bishops and abbots were *made*, and the liege lord as the power that made them.

374. Effects of Lay-Investiture. — (1) The true meaning of investiture — transfer of fiefs and regalia — was perverted; investiture became a transfer of the church, of its property both feudal and alodial, of the pastoral care and jurisdiction, of everything in fine save consecration.

(2.) Lay-investiture destroyed the freedom of election, for even if the formality of an election followed the investiture, it could be nothing else but the confirmation of a choice already made by the secular power.

(3.) Under bad emperors or kings it opened the door to ambition, bribery, an indecent scramble for office and the pest of simony. Never was the traffic in benefices carried on more openly and unblushingly than in the days of Henry IV. Ambitious churchmen in Germany, Lombardy and France, offered enormous sums to obtain a bishopric or abbey. In order to reimburse themselves they sold the smaller benefices to the lower clergy.

(4.) This sinful traffic filled higher and lower offices with unworthy men who, lost to the sense of their vocation, fell into sins of incontinence either by marriage or unlawful cohabitation (concubinage). Thus not only a large number of the clergy defied a law which was binding in the Latin Church since the fifth century, but many defended these abuses as lawful customs. It was in view of this defense that the reformers branded Nicolaitism and simony as heresies.

(5.) The natural tendency of lay-investiture was to break up the unity and catholicity of the Church by nationalizing it in the different countries. The ecclesiastical order was in danger of being completely merged into the feudal system, the priesthood of becoming a caste holding benefices on a *secular*, and under the influence of clerical marriages on *hereditary* tenure. That the supremacy of the law, the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal order, the unity and catholicity, the freedom and the holiness of the Church of Christ were vindicated among the new Teutonic nations, was under God's providence the work of Gregory VII. His Pontificate was the turning point of the Middle Ages.

375. The Successors of Victor II. — Resources of the Papacy. — Stephen X., Nicholas II., and Alexander II., continued the effort of their predecessors to remedy existing abuses and to restore the freedom of the Church. They were loyally supported in their work by St. Peter Damian and Hildebrand, by the Congregation of Cluny now established in every Catholic country and by the Pataria, a society of priests and laymen zealous in the cause of reform. The Pataria was founded in Milan to organize the masses of the people against the married clergy, and thence spread to the principal cities of Italy. To these resources must be added the protection of the Normans of southern Italy, since 1059 the vassals of the Holy See, the wealth and power of the countesses Beatrice and Matilda of Tuscany, and the faithful co-operation of all true Catholics in Christendom.

Beatrice was the widow of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine. Matilda, her daughter, styled herself the faithful handmaid of St. Peter, whilst the people called her "the great Countess." Like her mother she was enthusiastic in the cause of reform, and a devoted friend of Hildebrand and the great Popes and Saints of the age. As a girl of twenty Matilda had personally commanded her vassals in the defense of Rome. Pure above suspicion, gentle to others, austere to herself, she was deemed worthy by Gregory VII. to receive daily communion.

The administration of these Popes is one unbroken series of synods and other attempts to enforce in every country of Europe the idea of ecclesiastical reform on the basis of a celibate clergy elected without the use of money or violence, and induced into office by the Church alone.

376. Election Decree of Nicholas II., 1059.— Above all the freedom of papal elections had to be secured both against the exorbitant influence of the Emperors and the intrigues of Italian factions. At the death of Stephen X. the Tusculan party again raised its head and by a tumultuary election placed the intruder Benedict X. on the throne of St. Peter. Archdeacon Hildebrand, as yet supported by the German court, succeeded in bringing about the lawful election of Nicholas II. (1058). Troubled in his conscience Benedict at once made his submission. A few months after his election Nicholas summoned a great synod to the Lateran to settle the question of future papal elections. The result was the famous decree drawn up by Hildebrand and signed by 113 fathers of the Council. From time immemorial the election had been in the hands of the clergy and people of Rome, the chief action being reserved to the clergy. According to the election decree of Nicholas II., the real electors were to be the Cardinal-bishops. The rest of the Cardinals, the clergy and the people of Rome were to accede to the election by the expression of their consent. Henry IV. was granted the honorary right of confirming the choice of the Cardinal-bishops by the presence of his representatives at the papal consecration. But this right did not pass to Henry's successors; they had to obtain it personally from the Holy See. If a free election and a peaceful inthronization should be impossible in Rome, the Cardinal-bishops could hold the election in any place which they thought proper and the Pope-elect could

begin at once the exercise of his powers. Accordingly when Nicholas II. died in 1061, the Cardinal-bishops unanimously chose the great reformer, Anselm, bishop of Lucca, outside the city of Rome. A small army of Normans conducted him to Rome, where he was consecrated as Alexander II. If the election decree of Nicholas II. had roused considerable opposition in Germany, the employment of the Normans as protectors of the Pope increased the dissatisfaction and led to a fusion of parties. German princes, Roman nobles and Lombard bishops joined in raising, 28 days after Alexander's election, Cadalous, the simonist bishop of Parma, as antipope. The so-called Honorius II. disturbed a few years the peace of Rome and of the Church. But St. Anno, Archbishop of Koeln, brought about his rejection in the synods of Augsburg (1062) and Mantua (1064), and Alexander II. was unanimously recognized.

377. **Youth and Character of Henry IV.** — Henry III. had left his son Henry at the age of six under the care of the Empress-mother Agnes and of St. Anno, Archbishop of Koeln. Dissatisfied with the weak regency of Agnes, the princes separated Henry from her and placed him under Anno's guardianship. Agnes retired to Rome (1064) where she led a most pious life under the direction of St. Peter Damian, now bishop and Cardinal of Ostia. To comply with the wishes of the princes, Anno shared the administration of the kingdom and the education of the prince with the powerful Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, a churchman of great ability but a courtier of still greater ambition. Whilst Anno was working for the recognition of Alexander II. in Italy, Adalbert gained a complete ascendency over the prince and indulged him in his evil tastes. Bad company did the rest in corrupting Henry's character. He remained throughout his long reign headstrong, irresolute, profligate and utterly deficient in self-control. Henry was belted and declared of age at fifteen in 1065, and Adalbert, now the first man in the kingdom, inaugurated an administration of extravagance and extortion. All the later efforts of Anno to bring Henry to his senses failed.

378. Personal Rule of Henry IV.; Rising of the Saxons. — In 1072 began the personal government of Henry IV. He was already hated and despised. The unworthy treatment of his wife, Bertha of Susa, disgusted the princes. His court at Goslar was the seat of the grossest license, of open simony, a market of bishopries and abbeys. Government degenerated into arbitrary rule. Otto of Nordheim, the duke of Bavaria, was falsely accused

of high treason, and his possessions devastated by the king. Magnus, duke of Saxony, who received the fugitive Otto, was thrown into prison for his friendship. The king had sold Bavaria for an immense sum to Welf, the son of Azzo of Este and of a sister of Welf I., duke of Carinthia, with whom the elder or male line of the Welfic House became extinct. Welf I. as duke of Bavaria became thus the founder of the female line of the Welfic House. The princes attributing the fall of Otto to the upstarts at Henry's court, kept aloof from the king. The Saxons resented the burdens which the maintenance of the royal court of Goslar imposed on them. The imprisonment of the duke increased their excitement. Henry built strong castles on every hill-top of Saxony and Thuringia, whose lawless garrisons plundered and outraged the peasantry. These measures roused a rebellion such as the Empire had never seen before. Sixty thousand Saxons, nobles, freeholders and peasants, gathered at Goslar to present their grievances, and being refused a hearing, drove the king from their country. The royal fugitive appealed to the southern princes, who were already thinking of electing a new king. Henry succeeded in preventing their meeting and in gaining a number of them for negotiating with the Saxon nobles. The result was the Treaty of Gerstungen. The king promised to level the royal castles, to confirm the ancient rights of the Saxons, to grant a general amnesty, and to restore Otto of Nordheim, 1074. But when he tried to prevent the destruction of his castles, the infuriated peasants demolished not only the Harzburg, but desecrated the minster and other ecclesiastical buildings in violation of the treaty and against the will of the Saxon nobles. These excesses, the promised restoration of Otto of Nordheim, and the fear of the southern princes that Saxony might grow too independent, brought enough of vassals to the side of Henry to enable him to invade Saxony. A bloody defeat of the Saxons at Hohenburg on the Unstrut, 1075, effected an unconditional surrender of the Saxons and was followed by a fearful devastation of the country.

The king through the first bishops and princes of the Empire had promised them a lenient treatment, if they would surrender unconditionally. After the surrender, the king sent their bishops and nobles as prisoners into

distant provinces, distributed their possessions among his friends, rebuilt the castles, and treated Saxony as a conquered province.

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* The study of Gregory's life led Gfrörer to the Cath. Church.

§ 2.

CANOSSA.

379. Election of Gregory VII. — Alexander II. died April 21, 1073. The next day Cardinal-Archdeacon Hildebrand, "the pious man, endowed with genuine learning and prudence, the most prominent lover of fairness and justice, strong in misfortune, moderate in good fortune, adorned with solid virtue, pure, modest, temperate, chaste, hospitable, an excellent steward of his house," as the official election report says, was unanimously chosen by the Cardinals as Gregory VII. amidst the universal acclamation of the clergy and people of Rome. The sovereign Pontiff postponed his consecration until he had announced his election to Henry IV. Henry not only acknowledged the freedom and lawfulness of his election, but in an humble and self-accusing letter solicited the Pope's forgiveness and promised him his co-operation in the suppression of simony. The king was then hard pressed by the Saxons. In a few months Gregory, with the aid of his vassals, restored peace and obedience in the Patrimony of St. Peter. In his first Lenten synod, 1074, Gregory renewed the decrees against simony and Nicolaitism, excluded the simonist and inconti-

nent clergy from the ministry of the altar, and forbade the people to attend the masses of married priests. A storm of opposition and obloquy greeted these decrees in Germany, Lombardy and France. But unmoved by such outcries Gregory took effective means to have the decrees promulgated in every diocese, and where the bishops and clergy offered resistance, he appealed directly to the people to avoid the ministrations of unworthy priests and to refuse obedience to the bishops who tolerated Nicolaitism in their dioceses.

380. The Law Against Lay-Investiture, 1075. — It was, however, in the great Lenten synod of 1075 that Gregory VII. laid the ax to the root. In a number of decrees referring to personal matters, the synod excluded five counsellors of Henry IV. from the Church, threatened Philip I. of France with the ban unless he would give security for the amendment of his scandalous life, removed seven archbishops and bishops from office for simony and other offenses, and excommunicated Robert Wiscard for his unjust aggression against Richard of Capua and papal Benevento. Thereupon the synod proceeded to settle the burning question of the day, lay-investiture, by the following law: "If anyone henceforth receive from the hand of any lay person a bishopric or abbey, let him not be considered as bishop or abbot, and let the favor of St. Peter and the gates of the Church be forbidden to him until he relinquish his offices. If any emperor, king, duke, marquis, count, or any other lay person presume to give investiture of bishoprics or any other ecclesiastical dignity, let him be bound by the same sentence of exclusion." But here again Gregory showed the same consideration to Henry IV. as at his election, for he invited him to offer any legitimate suggestion or amendment before officially publishing the decree.

381. Henry's Excommunication. — Before the battle of Hohenburg Henry had sent several deferential letters and secret envoys to the Pope to assure him of his obedience. But after his victory he at once broke off all friendly communication with the Holy See and continued to defy the laws of the Church. The Saxons, upon whom he wreaked barbarous vengeance, appealed to Pope Gregory for protection. Thereupon the common Father of all

Christians sent legates to Goslar, where the king was celebrating Christmas. After exhausting all friendly remonstrances, they summoned Henry to Rome to answer in the Lenten synod of 1076 to the following charges: (a) of retaining his excommunicated advisers, (b) of practicing simony and investiture, (c) of personal crimes and cruelties. In the matter of simony affairs had come to such a pass at Milan that besides the lawful Archbishops two schismatical prelates, both invested by Henry, disputed the See of St. Ambrose. Instead of obeying the summons Henry called the German bishops and abbots to a sham synod at Worms. Nearly all of them appeared and signed a document pronouncing the deposition of Gregory. There were a number of simonist and excommunicated bishops who really intended what they signed. But the majority acted under intimidation. For shortly afterwards they sent letters of confession to Gregory VII. confessing their guilt and asking for penances, but pleading fear of death as their excuse. A similar meeting of Lombard bishops at Piacenza indorsed the transaction of Worms. From Worms a most insulting letter was addressed by "Henry, king not by usurpation, but by God's grace, to Hildebrand, henceforth no Pope but false monk." A simonist clerk laid the missive before the Lenten synod assembled at the Vatican. In the midst of the tumult which arose Gregory preserved an imperturbable calm, protected the messenger against hard usage, and prorogued the meeting. The next day in the presence of the Empress-mother Agnes, and with the full approval of the 110 Fathers of the Council, he passed sentence of excommunication upon Henry, and for the time being released all Christians from the oaths of fealty which they might have taken to him, according to the laws then prevailing in Church and State.

A king excommunicated for public reasons could not exercise any acts of government, as the faithful were forbidden intercourse with him. The sentence passed by Gregory was not final; it was in the king's power to have it revoked within a year by his conversion and submission.

382. The Diet of Tribur, 1076. — Public opinion began to turn strongly against the first German king who had incurred the papal excommunication. The sudden deaths of many prominent adherents of Henry, both princes and bishops, were generally looked

upon as judgments of God. Many Saxon prisoners and hostages were sent home by their guardians or keepers, and received with enthusiasm in Saxony, where royal garrisons were again expelled and the castles broken. Henry's impious design to proclaim an antipope at Mainz had to be dropped, because too small a number of princes and bishops heeded the summons of the king; they hastened to reconcile themselves with the Church, and avoided all intercourse with the excommunicated ruler. Instead of the king setting up an antipope, the princes in great number and a majority of the bishops met in diet at Tribur to elect a new king. Afraid to mingle with his disaffected subjects, Henry with his few followers took up his headquarters at Oppenheim on the opposite bank of the Rhine. It was owing to the instructions which the papal legates, Sigehard, Patriarch of Aquileia, and the fearless reformer Altmann of Passau, had received from Gregory VII., that an election was prevented and the crown preserved to Henry. For seven days earnest deliberations were held and messages crossed and recrossed the Rhine. An agreement was reached at last by which the final decision was left in the hands of the Pope who was to hear both parties next Candlemas at Augsburg. Meanwhile the king had to revoke the decrees of Worms, to promise submission and satisfaction to the Pope, to dismiss his excommunicated counsellors, to reinstate the lawful bishops and to withdraw to Speier as a private man. The king accepted all these conditions under oath. The princes swore that if Henry by his own fault should not obtain absolution from the ban within a year and a day, as the Palatine law required, they would cease to acknowledge him as their ruler.

383. The Meeting of Canossa, 1077. — Henry saw clearly that his position in the coming assembly of Augsburg would be greatly improved if he could effect his reconciliation with the Church before the meeting. He, therefore, petitioned the Pope to receive him in Italy and absolve him from the ban, promising full satisfaction. But Gregory answered him again and again that he was bound to stand by his promise to the German princes. Thereupon Henry resolved to obtain absolution at any cost. Late in December, 1076, he left Speier with his wife and his little son and one other companion, traveled through Burgundy and crossed Mount Cenis into Italy.

Meanwhile Gregory VII. too had set out for Germany, and finding no safe-conduct ready, had betaken himself to Canossa, the strong castle of Matilda of Tuscany. Here Henry appeared with a few followers, and performed his celebrated penance of three days, standing in the garb of a penitent in the inner court of the castle, promising satisfaction and imploring the grace of absolution. Gregory being under pledges to the German princes was loath to receive Henry in private and to decide the cause of one accused in the absence of his accusers. But the humility of the king and the entreaties of Matilda of Tuscany, of the saintly Hugh, abbot of Cluny, and of other spiritual and temporal dignitaries who had flocked to Canossa, induced him to readmit the penitent king into the communion of the Church. Henry promised under oath to abide by the stipulations of Tribur, and to meet the Pope and the princes at Augsburg. Gregory then wrote to the German princes what had happened at Canossa, and that Henry was still bound and willing to answer to their charges at Augsburg.

It is ridiculous to call the transaction of Canossa the victory of a proud Pope over an humbled king. It was rather a victory of Henry over the German princes. The penance of Canossa was not imposed, not even desired by Gregory, but voluntarily chosen by the king. No dishonor was connected with such an act of a king in the ages of faith. The public scourging which Otto the Great freely accepted from a bishop whom he had injured, and the public humiliation which Henry II. imposed on himself at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, did not lower but raise these rulers in the estimate of the people.

It was shortly after this meeting that Matilda of Tuscany drew up the renowned donation which after her death transferred her allodial dominions to the Patrimony of St. Peter.

Gfroerer. — R. Parsons: *The Pontificate of Gregory VII.: Studies*, v. 2, p 144.— Montalembert: *Gregory VII. and Henry IV.: Monks of the West:* Bk. 19, chs. 4 and 5; *Gregory VII., Monk and Pope: ibid., to ch. 19.* — Card. Hergenroether: *Pope Gregory VII.: Cath. Church and Christian State*, v. 1, [Essay, 8, part 1.— Montalembert-Cardwell, *Gregory VII.*, M. '75, 1, pp. 93, 547, 427; '75, 2, pp. 371, 502; '75, 3, pp. 104, 235. — L'Abbé O. Delark: *Saint Gregoire VII. et la Reforme de l'Eglise.* — B. Jungmann: *De Pontificatu S. Gregorii VII.* v. 4, Dissert. 21, pp. 229-296. — Gregory VII. St. v. 3, p. 255. — Carl Wirbt: *Die Wahl Gregors VII.*, also Knöpfler: Katholick '92, 1, p. 325.— *Tribur und Canossa:* H. P. B. '93, p. 492, '94, pp. 309, 381. — Documents: Decree forbidding lay-investiture; Letter of Gregory VII. to Henry IV. (1075); Henry's answer; The bishops to Gregory VII.; first excommunication of Henry; Henry's invitation to synod of Worms; Gregory's justification to German princes (1076); Convention of Oppenheim, Henry's promises and retractations (1076); Gregory's letter to German princes concerning Henry's penance at Canossa (1077); transl. in Henderson: *Select Historical Documents.*

§ 3.

GREGORY VII. AND HENRY IV. AFTER THE MEETING AT CANOSSA.

384. Breach of the Treaty of Canossa. — There is no reason to suspect the sincerity of Henry's penance at Canossa. But as he was of a fickle character, the threats of the Italian party gradually drew him away from his good resolutions. Nothing was further from the Lombard bishops than the thought of submitting to Gregory. They were led in their revolt by two able prelates, Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna and Cardinal Hugh the White. Both had been generously favored by the Pope, and both had incurred excommunication for repeated acts of rebellion and treason. This party assisted by disaffected lay lords, had laid a plot to seize Gregory VII. and Matilda of Tuscany at Mantua, where the Pope had agreed to meet Henry. At first the king resisted all the advances of the schismatical party, but when they threatened him with deposition in favor of his little son Conrad, he brushed aside the treaty of Canossa, assumed an attitude of open hostility against the Pope and occupied the passes of the Alps to prevent Gregory's journey to Augsburg, whilst the Italian conspirators barred the Pontiff's way to Rome, so that he had to stay at Canossa. Hearing of Henry's double breach of plighted faith, the German princes, chiefly the Saxons and Suabians, met in diet at Forchheim, and elected Rudolf of Suabia king. He was crowned by the Archbishop of Mainz. Rudolf had always been a loyal son to the Holy See, swore to observe the laws of the Church, to abstain from all acts of simony and investiture, and to refrain from passing the crown to his heirs, 1077.

385. The Civil War. — Henry returned to Germany. The situation was now complicated by strife between two rival kings. Gregory, seeking to effect a reconciliation between the pretenders and the German princes, required from each a safe-conduct, which Rudolf was unable, Henry unwilling, to grant. The Pope was as innocent of the civil war as he had been of the Saxon rising, for Rudolf was elected against his advice. In open battle the arms of Rudolf prevailed; in devastating raids Henry won a notorious superiority. Papal legates imprisoned, treaties made and broken, provinces devastated, churches burnt with the inhabitants who sought refuge in them

by the schismatical party, enemies of the Pope forced by Henry on episcopal sees, in many dioceses two bishops, murder and anarchy everywhere — such was the state into which Henry's criminal folly had plunged the fatherland. It was in this deplorable state of affairs that Gregory, greatly moved by tidings of new and manifold sacrileges and cruelty on the part of Henry, once more pronounced the sentence of excommunication against him in the Lateran synod of 1080, absolved his subjects from their oath of obedience, and acknowledged Rudolf as king.

386. The Schism, 1080–1100. — The action of Gregory increased the resentment of the schismatical party. The king and thirty bishops of Germany and Lombardy met at Brixen, where Cardinal Hugh the White raised the most absurd calumnies, such as plotting against the king's life, heresy, magical arts, a compact with the devil, against the holy Pontiff. Having gone through the farce of Gregory's deposition, Hugh the White, the only Cardinal present, chose Wibert of Ravenna antipope. He assumed the name of Clement III. From Brixen Wibert returned to Ravenna and Henry to Germany to continue the war with Rudolf. In a bloody battle on the Elster in Saxony, Henry was completely defeated, but Rudolf fell mortally wounded. At the same time Matilda's forces were defeated by the king's army in Lombardy. Under these circumstances Gregory VII. made peace with Robert Wiscard at the sacrifice of some territory, absolved him from excommunication, and invested him with his possessions in southern Italy, whilst Robert swore fealty and protection to the Holy See.

The German princes opposed to Henry chose count Herman of Luxemburg to succeed Rudolf, 1081. He defeated the partisans of Henry on the Danube, and was crowned at Goslar by the Archbishop of Mainz. He was, however, too weak to bring about a decisive result, and after a short time retired from the contest. He died in 1088.

387. The Last Years of Gregory VII. — Henry IV. made four attempts to obtain possession of Rome in order to seat his antipope. In 1081 he was defeated by the troops of Gregory and Matilda. The attempt of 1082 was likewise a failure. In 1083 he succeeded in occupying part of the city, but the Leonine city with the Vatican basilica was held by Gregory. The king now made offers of peace and promised to drop the antipope, if Gregory would

crown him Emperor. But Gregory with his usual intrepidity answered that the first thing necessary was to make atonement and reparation to God and the Church for his public crimes. This the king refused to do. In 1084 at length Henry obtained possession of the city with the help of a treacherous party in Rome that had been bribed by money and promises to play false to the Pope. The so-called Clement III. was enthroned by two excommunicated bishops, and in his turn crowned Henry Emperor. But their success was of short duration. Gregory who had meanwhile defended himself in the Castle of St. Angelo, appealed to Robert Wiscard for aid. Robert at once broke off his campaign against the Greek Empire and hastened to Rome, whilst Henry slunk away with his antipope into Lombardy, without apprising his Roman friends of the danger which threatened them. A week later Robert swooped down upon the city, took it without much opposition and conducted Gregory VII. from the Castle of St. Angelo to the Lataran palace. A street attack of the Romans upon the Normans had so enraged the fierce warriors, that unmindful of Gregory's remonstrance, they gave over a considerable part of the city to pillage and fire. Under these circumstances Gregory withdrew to Salerno. From Salerno he sent a last encyclical letter to all the faithful of the world in which he once more defined the aim of his whole Pontificate: "That the holy Church, the Spouse of God, our Mistress and Mother, returning to her innate splendor, may continue to be *free, chaste and Catholic.*" Gregory VII., the greatest Pope of the Middle Ages, the grandest figure in history, died at Salerno, May 25, 1085, with the memorable words on his lips: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

His work did not die with him. He appeared outwardly vanquished, but the victory was in reality on his side, though it lasted many years before the question of investiture was settled in favor of the Church. He was the last Pope confirmed by a temporal sovereign. By him the freedom of papal elections was secured. He had made great progress in the extirpation of simony and concubinage. He had sharply formulated the principles, which were to secure the freedom, the purity, the Catholicity of the Church. His successors were educated by him and animated by his spirit. He had raised

the people to a higher level by appealing to their co-operation in the most momentous questions of his time. It is from him that the two greatest centuries of the Middle Ages took their form and character. "He left the impress of his own gigantic character on the history of all the ages which have succeeded him."

388. Gregory's Relations to the Sovereigns of Europe. — It is an unfounded assertion that Gregory VII. treated all princes as vassals of the Holy See. It was neither unusual nor uncommon for princes to place themselves and their dominions under the protection of St. Peter. Beyond the universal subjection of states in matters of religion there was in many instances a special subjection founded on various titles, frequently the personal desire of the ruling princes. The authority of the Holy See was the effective protection of smaller states against powerful realms. In France Gregory VII. never raised a feudal claim. Apulia and Calabria were in feudal dependence on the Holy See since their submission to St. Leo IX. Saxony had paid a tribute like the English Peter Pence since the days of Charles the Great. Poland and Hungary placed themselves under the special protection of St. Peter in the reign of Sylvester II., Denmark in that of Alexander II.; they owed their national independence to the solicitude of the Popes. Not a trace of any feudal claims are found in Gregory's letters to the kings of Norway and Sweden and to the republic of Venice. Demetrius of Dalmatia voluntarily promised a yearly tribute and received the royal crown from Gregory VII. The Spanish princes from an early period paid tribute to the Holy See and dedicated themselves to the Prince of the Apostles; but from these acts no feudal dependence can be inferred, since the Spanish kings were in the habit of dedicating themselves to other saints and making themselves tributary to holy places. "Certain it is that the Popes acted in this manner on no widespread, deep-laid political scheme, inherited by one from the other. Things took shape spontaneously fashioned by impending dangers, by the spirit of chivalry, and by religious enthusiasm."

389. Last Years of Henry IV. — When Rome was in the hands of the Normans, Henry IV. returned to Germany. Partial successes in the field never led to a decisive victory. His latter years were darkened by disgraceful revelations of his private life and by risings of his sons. His third stay in Italy lasted from 1090–97. The successors of Gregory VII., Victor III, Urban II., Paschal II., continued to govern and to reform the Church in the spirit of their great teacher. Though persecution forced them repeatedly to leave Rome, the arms of Matilda of Tuscany, who by her position was at once the protectress of the Papacy, of Lombard liberty, and of the rights of German princes against a despotic Emperor, saved them from being overpowered by the schismatics. Matilda in 1093 had made herself mistress of all her possessions and hung up the last banner of Henry IV. in the chapel of Ca-

nossa. — In the same year Henry's eldest son Conrad abandoned the cause of his father, fled to Matilda of Tuscany, and was crowned king of Italy (died at Florence 1101). In 1101 the youngest son of Henry IV., Henry (V.) revolted, and gathered a party around him by hypocritical professions of submission to the Church. The princes on either side more than once prevented a battle between father and son. By a masterpiece of duplicity young Henry induced his father to dismiss his army, took him prisoner, and forced him to abdicate, 1105. Escaping from his confinement, Henry IV. gathered a new army; a battle somewhere between Aachen and Liège was imminent, when Henry IV. fell sick and died in a few days. He had yet time to receive the last sacraments and to dispatch a conciliatory letter to Paschal II., 1106.

Gfroerer. — Brownson: *Gregory VII.* (review) last series, III., p. 122. — Montalembert: *Life and Triumph of Gregory VII.; Monks of the West*, bk. 19, ch. 6. — Card. Hergenroether: *Gregory's Relations to the Secular Princes; Cath. Church and Christ. State*, v. 1, Essays VIII., part 2. — J. L. Sweeney: *The Pope and the Emperor* (nine lectures), lect. 5. — Delark: *St. Grégoire VII.* (to Robert Guiscard). — *De Pontificatu S. Gregorii VII.:* Jungmann, vol. 4., Dissert 21, pp. 296-355. — *Second Excommunication and Deposition of Henry IV.* (1080); *Decision of the Council of Brixen* (1080); *Gregory VII. to Bishop Herman of Metz* (1081); transl. in Henderson, *Select Hist. Docs.* — Watterich: *Vitae Rom. Pontif.*, Tom. I. — Fl. Riess: *Die Zeiten Gregors VII.*, St. v. 3, pp. 255, 333. — Voigt-Jager: *Hildebrand or Pope Gregory VII.* (French and German). — Zisterer: *Rudolf von Schwaben.* — *On Gregory VII.*, H. P. B., v. 120, p. 333. — Carl Mirbt: *Die Publicistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII.* — Giesebrecht: *Henry IV.*, 1077-1105, bk. 7. — *On Henry IV. and His Sons:* H. P. B., v. 53, p. 314.

§ 4.

HENRY V., 1106–1125 — CONTINUATION OF THE CONFLICT.

390. Lay-Investiture in France — Philip I., 1060–1108. — Philip I., a slave of his passions and a tool in the hands of evil advisers, remained rather an indifferent spectator than an actual combatant in the great struggle between the Church and the State. The Popes encountered far less opposition in France than in Germany, because the royal power was yet little developed, and the king lacked personal energy. More than once excommunicated for simony and adultery, he managed to escape deposition by periodically submitting to the Church before the terms of excommunication had run out. The contest about investiture was decided for France in such a way that the king renounced the claim of investing the prelates with ring and staff and the solemn homage by intromission of hands, whilst the bishops received the temporalities from the hands of their liegelord, and took an oath of fidelity to the king.

Philip made his final submission to the Church and did public penance before a Council of Paris, 1104. At his death he left the kingdom to a son, Louis VI., who had already won the esteem of the country. With him a new period opened in the Making of France.

391 New Negotiations. — Henry V. ascended the throne after the treacherous deposition and the death of his father. Whilst he exhibited external deference to the Pope, he maintained the claim and practice of investing prelates with ring and staff. On the other hand, Paschal II. in a number of synods upheld the prohibition of lay-investiture. But as long as the young king was occupied with domestic affairs and wars with Poland, Hungary and Flanders — expeditions which earned him little glory — Paschal treated him with indulgence. In 1110 after his engagement to Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, he undertook at length his first expedition to Italy and began to treat with the Pope about his imperial coronation. Papal and royal representatives met and exchanged proposals. Paschal engaged to oblige the German prelates to hand back all fiefs and royalties to the king and to content themselves with the alods, the offerings of the faithful and other purely ecclesiastical revenues in return for Henry's renunciation of the right of investiture. The Pope's offer in its high-minded disinterestedness would have effectually stopped illegal elections, withdrawn the object of clerical ambition, removed the temptation of simony, put an end to the political activity and military service of the prelates, and made the Church absolutely free. On the other hand all but insurmountable obstacles stood in the way of its realization. For centuries the kings and Emperors had given large fiefs and great political power to the prelates because they could rely on their loyalty. They formed a counterpoise to the habitual turbulence of the lay vassals. Royalty would have suffered seriously by a transfer of these fiefs from the Church to lay vassals. It was to be foreseen that the prelates, nearly all scions of noble houses, would resist to the utmost before giving up the immense wealth, honor and power which they enjoyed as princes of the Empire. The lay nobility too would have objected to the change, because part of them received investiture by subinfeudation from the bishops, part conferred it on them as territorial lords. Henry V. knew that a treaty of this character would be universally rejected. Nevertheless in order to entrap a Pope who was better versed in spiritual matters than in secular diplomacy, he concluded the Treaty of Sutri.

392. The Treaty of Sutri. — The treaty consisted of two separate documents. Henry's pledges were: "The king will resign in writing all investitures of any church into the hand of the Lord Pope in the presence of the clergy and of the people on his corona-

tion day. And after the Pope shall have carried out his part of the engagement, he will confirm by oath, never to interfere any more in investitures but to leave the Church free in possession of the offerings and revenues which clearly do not belong to the king." The second document contained the promises of Paschal II. "If the king shall have fulfilled his engagement, the Lord Pope will command the bishops present at the coronation, to return all fiefs and regalia to the king and kingdom and forbid under penalty of excommunication, that any of them either present or absent, or their successors, shall ever again interfere with or invade these fiefs and regalia. Nor will he himself ever disturb the king or kingdom concerning this matter, nor suffer those who are dependent on him to do so, under penalty of excommunication." As the king well knew that the treaty would be at once rejected by the bishops and princes, he stipulated that the documents be exchanged on his coronation day, in order to throw all the odium of the affair on Paschal II. He even went further. He added a verbal and one-sided condition which made his renunciation of investiture dependent not only on the action of the Pope but on the acceptance of the German bishops. This condition of which Paschal II. was not informed, rendered Henry's promise regarding investiture a mere play of words. It was with a singularly bad faith that Henry and his deputies lavished their oaths on the Treaty of Sutri.

393. The Sacrilege of St. Peter's. — The preliminaries of the king's coronation being thus settled by treaty, Henry proceeded to Rome, was received with great honor by the Romans, and introduced into St. Peter's by Paschal and the Cardinals and bishops of his court. After the customary oaths had been taken, the Pope asked for the exchange of the documents of Sutri. To throw the blame of what was to follow on the Pope, the king protested that he had no intention of depriving the Church of the gifts granted by his predecessors. The Pope then read his part of the engagement. As was expected a violent tumult broke out among the German and Italian bishops who clamored against the surrender of their fiefs. Thereupon the king declared he would not renounce the right of investiture. The treaty being thus broken, before it was legally published, Paschal refused to crown Henry V. The king at once

ordered his soldiers to surround the Pope and his court in the very church of St. Peter, and to make them prisoners, whilst the basilica was desecrated by robbery, bloodshed and sacrilege. The following morning the Romans rose and defeated the Germans in a battle in which several thousands fell on either side. On the third day, Henry and his army left Rome and dragged the Pope, sixteen Cardinals, many of the prelates and leading Romans, into his Sabine camp, whence he confined the captives in different prisons. Paschal was kept in his dungeon for sixty-one days. During all this time he resisted the appeals of friend and foe to sacrifice the rights of the Church. But when menaced with harsher measures against the prisoners, with the devastation of the Roman Church and a general schism, he finally yielded to force. "For the peace and liberty of the Church I am forced to do what I would never have done to save my life." He granted to Henry V. the dangerous *privilege* of conferring on bishops and abbots chosen *with the king's consent* but without violence or simony, the investiture with ring and staff, and promised at the same time never to excommunicate the king for past offenses or for future investitures. Rome opened her gates and Henry V. was crowned Emperor in St. Peter's, 1111, the saddest coronation in the history of Rome.

394. **Opposition to the Pravilegium.** — A powerful opposition to Paschal's concession, the "pravilegium" as it was called, arose in Italy, France, Burgundy, and soon after in Germany. The charge of heresy, however, which one or the other of the reformers raised against the Pope, was utterly false, because every Pope has the right to dispense from existing laws if he thinks it necessary to avert greater evils. In the great Lateran synod of 1112 Paschal II. stated that in the personal question between Henry V. and himself he would stand by his promises and never excommunicate the king, but the manner of dealing with the "privilege" he left entirely in the hands of the Council, adding the declaration: "I accept the decrees of my predecessors, especially of Gregory VII. and Urban II.; what they have condemned I condemn, what they have forbidden I forbid, what they have commanded I command, what they have confirmed I confirm." Thereupon the Council rejected the privilege as obtained by force and uncanonical. The Council of Vienne excommunicated Henry for having acted like a second Judas. The ban was repeated by synods held in Jerusalem, Greece, Hungary, France and Germany. A few years later, in 1116, Paschal II. directly condemned the pravilegium and renewed Gregory VII.'s condemnation of lay-investiture under excommunication of the giver and receiver.

395. Opposition to Henry V. — Having returned to Germany, Henry began a policy of persecution. Prelates faithful to the principles of reform were expelled, imperial bishops invested, the Archbishop-elect of Mainz and many princes suspected of plots thrown into dungeons, the episcopal city of Halberstadt destroyed. These measures together with Henry's harsh rule, the arbitrary disposition of hereditary fiefs, and the knowledge of his excommunication led to a wide-spread defection in Germany.

The city of Koeln with its vassals and allies defeated the Emperor in open battle, 1114. The confederated princes of Saxony under their new duke Lothar of Supplinburg vindicated at Welfswood their religious and national rights, 1115. This battle destroyed Henry's authority in Saxony for the rest of his reign. Lothar the Saxon and the Saxon princes and bishops formally rejected the pravilegium in a mixed synod at Goslar. Friesland refused to pay tribute. The citizens of Mainz compelled Henry to release their Archbishop, whom cruel treatment had reduced to a skeleton.

Treaty of Sutri; the Pravilegium: Henderson: *Select. Hist. Documents*, pp. 405, 407. — B. Jungmann: *De continuatione et fine controversiae quoad Investituras:* vol. 4, dissert. 22, pp. 355–385. — Montalembert: *Victor III., Urban II., Paschal II.: Monks of the West:* Bk. 20, chaps. 1.–11. — Montalembert: *Successors of Gregory VII.;* M. '75, 3, p. 379. — On *Henry V. and the Papacy:* Giesebrecht, Bk. VIII. (1106–1123). — *On The Treaty of Sutri:* Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte* v. V., pp. 295–332. — Gregorovius: *History of Rome*, l. c. — *Heinrich V. und seine Zeit:* H. P. B., v. 62, p. 437. — J. Ibach: *Kampf zwischen Papstthum und Königthum* (from Gregory VII. to Calixt II.). — Church Histories.

§ 5.

THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS.

396. Henry's Second Expedition to Italy, 1116–18. — Shunned by the princes and powerless at home, the Emperor transferred his court to Lombardy, leaving Frederic of Hohenstaufen as regent in Germany. In Italy Henry took possession of the inheritance of Matilda of Tuscany (d. 1115), appropriating not only the imperial fiefs, to which he had a right, but also her alods which she had donated to the Holy See. Fresh negotiations of Henry with Paschal II. (d. 1118) and his successor Gelasius II. failed on account of his refusal to give up investiture with ring and staff. Both Pontiffs refused to treat with Henry personally and outside of a Council, and withdrew from Rome when he approached the city. Before his return to Germany Henry had one of his partisans, the Spanish bishop Burdinus elected antipope by the votes of three schismatical Cardinals. He assumed the

name of Gregory VIII., but was soon forsaken by his own partisans. Gelasius II. died at Cluny, 1119. The Cardinals present at his death elected Guido, the high-born Archbishop of Vienne as Calixt II. He was a brother of the duke of Burgundy and a kinsman of the Emperor and the king of France. He was conspicuous as one of the ablest upholders of the Gregorian reform. His election was soon after confirmed by the Cardinals, the clergy and the people of Rome.

397. The Council of Rheims, 1119. — The election of Calixt II. was received in Germany without opposition. Even the Emperor made a show of submission and promised the legates of Calixt to renounce the "investitures of the churches," and to appear at the Council of Rheims to which the summons was already issued. The peace documents were to be exchanged between the Pope and the Emperor in the castle of Monzon. When the Pope after opening the Council of Rheims in the presence of Louis VI. of France and a great number of prelates from France, Spain, England, Germany and Italy, arrived at Monzon, he found Henry V. encamped in the neighborhood with 30,000 men. Besides, ambiguities were discovered in the peace documents. There was reason to fear a repetition of the treachery of 1111. Suspicion was strongly confirmed when new legates sent to the imperial camp elicited the answer, that Henry could not and would not renounce investitures without a fresh deliberation with all the princes of the Empire. Convinced of the Emperor's bad faith Calixt at once returned to the Council, which now renewed the prohibition of simony and lay-investiture, and closed with the solemn excommunication of Henry V. and his antipope. Calixt returned to Rome and was received with the greatest honor. Burdinus fled to Sutri, devastated the Campagnia, but was defeated by the Pope's Norman vassals. To save him from the ill-treatment of the mob, the Pope relegated him to a monastery where he died impenitent in 1121.

398. The Concordat of Worms, 1122.— The civil war between the Catholic and the schismatical party in Germany was renewed with increased bitterness and varying fortune. In 1121 a large Saxon army was standing face to face with the forces of Henry, who was besieging Mainz. Before it came to a battle both camps, alarmed at the consequences of the struggle, agreed to choose twelve princes on either side to deliberate on the means of arriving at a lasting peace between the Church and the State. The Emperor willingly or unwillingly accepted the proposal. The preliminaries were settled at Würzburg. Embassadors went to Rome and legates arrived in Germany empowered to conclude a definite peace. The negotiations resulted at last in the Concordat of Worms.

By the Pactum Calixtinum or Concordat of Worms, the Emperor restored "to God, to his holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to the Holy Church" all investitures with ring and staff, granted canonical freedom of election and consecration to all churches within the Empire, and promised full restitution, peace and protection to Calixt and the Holy Roman Church. The Pope conceded to the Emperor, that the elections of bishops and abbots in the German kingdom might take place in his presence without simony or violence, that if any discord should arise, he might give his assent or aid to the saner party under advice or judgment of the metropolitan and provincial bishops, and that after election he might confer the fiefs and regalia on the prelate-elect with the scepter. In other parts of the Empire (Italy and Burgundy) election and consecration were to be entirely independent of the Emperor, who was bound to confer the temporalities within six months *after* consecration. The reason why the Emperior received greater privileges in Germany than in the other parts of the Empire, was the peculiar position of the German prelates as princes of the Empire. The Concordat of Worms saved all the essential rights of the Church without infringing on the rights of the State.

399. The First General Council of the Lateran, 1123. — After the documents were signed, Henry V. was admitted to communion, and thus reconciled with the Church. The ninth General Council, the first Ecumenical Council in the West (I. in the Lateran), ratified in the presence of Calixt II. and a thousand prelates the decrees of the previous reformatory synods and the Concordat of Worms. The principles of ecclesiastical reform, the prohibition of simony and investiture with ring and staff, the celibacy of the clergy, the independence of papal elections from state control, the laws of free elections and ordinations, the protection of ecclesiastical property against violations by laymen now solemnly sanctioned and placed beyond the possibility of dispute by a General Council, were the fruits of the long continued contest about lay-investitures.

Concordat of Worms (Text): Henderson: *Sel. Hist. Docs. — Gelasius II., Calixt II., and the Concordat of Worms:* Montalembert; *Monks of the West*, Bk. 20, chs. 12-14. — *Concordat of Worms and I. Lateran Council:* Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte*, v. V., pp. 363-385. — R. Parsons: *The Ninth General Council; Studies*, v. II, p. 265. — *Concordat of Worms:* Jungmann: v. 4, p. 389, etc.; R. Parsons, II., 185; Hergenroether: *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 761-770; Alzog-Byrne II., 534; Darras III., 194-203.

§ 6.

THE CONTEST OF LAY-INVESTITURE IN ENGLAND UNDER WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND WILLIAM RUFUS.

400. Under William the Conqueror. — William I. entered into the reformatory ideas of Gregory VII. with greater zeal than any other sovereign of his time. The laws of celibacy were rigorously enforced; the king suffered no simony to be practiced in England, never allowed himself to be dragged into the schism of Wibert, never allied himself with the enemies of the Holy See. On the other hand he refused to part with the practice of investiture. But as he was guided in his ecclesiastical appointments by his trusted adviser, the great Archbishop Lanfranc, whom he had raised from the priorship of Bec to the See of Canterbury, and as the choice fell in most cases on really virtuous and learned men, Gregory acquiesced in this exceptional state of affairs. When Gregory asked the king to pay the Peter's Pence and to take an oath of fidelity in ecclesiastical matters (not of feudal homage) to the Holy See, William granted the former but refused the latter demand, because neither he nor his predecessors had ever promised such an oath. Nevertheless the relations between Gregory VII. and William the Conqueror remained friendly to the end.

401. The Wars of William Rufus — Scotland. — The separation of England from Normandy, which William the Conqueror had arranged on his death-bed, was welcomed by the English as a restoration of their nationality, but resented by the Normans, because their possessions in England were separated from their possessions in Normandy, and their hopes of feudal independence marred. The coronation of William Rufus by Archbishop Lanfranc was followed by a revolt of Norman nobles in favor of the succession of Robert of Normandy. William not only suppressed the revolt with the help of the English (1190) but wrested half of Normandy from his good-natured brother. Five years later he gained possession of the rest when Robert, eager to join the first Crusade, applied to William for a loan and pledged his dukedom as security. Thus Normandy became an appendix to England. In his further wars in France he recovered a part of Maine which the dukes of Anjou had conquered from Robert. At home William conducted three campaigns against the Welsh, but he curbed their aggressiveness rather by extensive castle-building along the frontiers than by any success in the field.

In 1093 Malcolm Canmore invaded England, because William Rufus had violated his rights in Cumberland, but was slain in the expedition. A civil war broke out in Scotland between the Celtic party and the English party, the latter represented by Eadgar the Aetheling. With the help of an English army lent him by William Rufus, Eadgar the Aetheling succeeded in saving the throne to Eadgar, the son of St. Margaret, 1197. This victory secured the great civilizing work of St. Margaret to Scotland. Cumberland became a part of England.

402. **St. Anselm and the Red King.** — After the death of Archbishop Lanfranc the true character of William Rufus began to show itself. He broke all his promises of good government. He gathered around him an army of ruffians from all lands with whom he traversed the country, so terrorizing the people that, upon his approach, they fled to the woods. He shocked his age by the profligacy of his life. He became a mocker and blasphemer who took a strange pleasure in dealing with God as his personal enemy. The means for his riotous living were found in sacrilege and oppression, in keeping churches and monasteries vacant when a bishop or abbot died, in wringing tax upon tax from every class of his subjects, in forcing large donations from the clergy and selling spiritual and temporal offices. This traffic in sacred things lowered the standard of the prelates. For his policy of extortion he employed an unscrupulous clergyman, Ranulf Flambard (Firebrand) as his Justiciary, i. e., the supreme, financial, judicial and executive officer of the kingdom. By his aid he doubled and trebled his revenues. The See of Canterbury was kept vacant for nearly four years. Urged in 1093 to name Anselm, the holy abbot of Bec, William swore: "Neither he nor any other man shall be Archbishop but myself." The words were followed by a sudden and alarming sickness. William sent in haste for St. Anselm, who was staying at the time in England, confessed to him, and promising under the great seal full reparation for the past, named him Archbishop of Canterbury. Anselm refused to grasp the crosier which the nobles of England thrust into his hand in the king's sick room, but subsequently he swore fealty to him, not for the Archbishopric, but for the use of the lands.

403. The Council of Rockingham, 1095. — The hopes of William's lasting conversion passed away with his returning health. Anselm demanded the fulfillment of the king's promises and assailed the vices of the court. The king was not slow in making the Primate feel his resentment. Not content with vexing him by unjust and simonistic money exactions, he claimed it as a "custom" inherited

from his father to make the recognition of any Pope dependent on the royal will. Accordingly, he ordered Anselm to renounce all obedience to Pope Urban II. Anselm appealed to the estates of the kingdom. In the Council of Rockingham the court bishops with cringing servility complied with the royal demands and renounced their canonical obedience to Primate and Pope. But the barons refused to allow England to be severed from the unity of the Church, and by their threatening attitude patched up a truce between the king and the Primate. Later in the year William recognized Urban II. in the presence of a papal legate, who had brought the pallium from Rome. The Red King once more tried the Saint's constancy; he asked for a large sum of money and the right of investing him with the pallium. Anselm denied both claims. The papal legate placed the pallium on the high altar of Canterbury Cathedral and the Archbishop took it himself "as it were from the hand of St. Peter."

404. First Exile of St. Anselm, 1097–1100. — Still pursued by the king and unsupported by the bishops, St. Anselm in 1097 announced his intention of seeking counsel of the Holy See with or without the king's permission. Glad at the prospect of ridding himself of his Primate, William gave him leave of absence, but forbade him to return, and appropriated the revenues of his See. When Anselm arrived in Rome, Urban II. received him with the greatest honors, but refused to accept his resignation and to allow him once more to return to monastic solitude. St. Anselm was the most prominent figure in the Vatican Council of 1099, which condemned both lay-investitures and homage of churchmen by the intromission of hands.

Anselm spent the rest of his exile in France. An unprecedented license of morals, fostered by the shameless example of the Red King, overran England upon Anselm's banishment. Seemingly at the height of his prosperity, on an evening after a wild debauch, William Rufus was found lying dead in the New Forest. An arrow had pierced his heart. The body of the evil king was interred without Christian burial. It was the third tragedy in the "New Forest" or Royal Chase, which William the Conqueror had laid out by leveling to the ground the sparsely scattered churches, villages and home-

steads of southwestern Hampshire. In William's own lifetime a son and a grandson had been slain by unknown hands in the New Forest.

E. A. Freeman: *William Rufus.*— Freeman: *Conquest*, ch. 23: *The Norman Kings in England, William Rufus*, pp. 68–148.— S. R. Gardiner: *A Student's Hist. of England*, v. 1. (Part I. to the Conquest); Part 2, William 1., pp. 101–114; *William II.*, pp. 114–122.— Lingard, v. 2: *William II.*, ch. 3.— Stubbs: *Const. Hist.*, chs. 9–11; *William Rufus:* ch. 10, pp. 315–326.— Mary H. Allies: *The Church in England*, vol. 1, 2d Period: *The Norman Kings and the Church: William the Conqueror*, p. 129; *William Rufus*, 134.— Martin Rule, M. A., *Archb. Lanfranc and his Modern Critics:* D. R. '81, 4, p. 406.— *St. Anselm and William Rufus:* Montalembert: *Monks*, Bk. 20, chs. 5, 6.— W. Waterworth, S. J., *England and Rome*, ch. 7.— *The Church after the Conquest;* D. R. '87, 2, p. 306.— B. Jungmann: vol. 4, Diss. 22, p. 359.— Martin Rule, M. A.: *The Life and Times of St Anselm, Archb. of Canterbury.*— Mrs. Ward: *St. Anselm* (C. T. S. P.).— J. M. Rigg: *St. Anselm of Canterbury.*— Church: *Life of St. Anselm.*— Church Histories and Chronicles.

§ 7.

HENRY I. BEAUCLERK, 1100–1135— END OF THE CONTEST ABOUT INVESTITURE IN ENGLAND.

405. **Henry I., 1100–1135.**— Henry, for his literary attainments called Beauclerk, had been hunting in the New Forest, when his brother was killed. He rode at once to Winchester, and in spite of the better claims of Robert, was hurriedly chosen and crowned. In the first Charter granted by a Norman king he promised reform and good government in the spirit of Eadward the Confessor. He sent Ranulf Flambard to the Tower, and besought Anselm, "his dearest father," to return to England for the good of his own royal person. Henry strengthened his hold on the English people by marrying Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm and St. Margaret, "good Queen Maud," as the people used to call her on account of her charity.

406. **Henry I. and Robert of Normandy.**— Ranulf Flambard escaped from the Tower, fled to Robert of Normandy, and urged him to invade and claim England as the oldest son of the Conqueror. The Church and the English rallied to Henry, and the earnest pleadings of Anselm with the king's Norman vassals averted a civil war. Robert meanwhile had landed at Porchester but seeing his position hopeless he renounced all his claims to England, 1101. Next year Robert of Bellême, the strongest of the Norman barons, rose in revolt. Henry broke his castles, stripped him of his English lands and drove him to Normandy. Here Robert and other Norman fugitives kept on attacking Henry's friends, and plunging the country into a state of turmoil which Robert was too weak or too indolent

to suppress. On the plea that Robert had broken his treaty by sheltering the exiles, Henry invaded Normandy, made peace, came a second time, defeated his brother in the battle of Tinchebray, 1106, and reunited Normandy with England. For twenty-eight years Robert lived a prisoner of his brother at Cardiff castle, where he died in 1134.

After the defeat of the Norman barons Henry's rule became practically absolute. The Great Council of the kingdom was replaced by official bodies dependent on the king. Feudal cases were decided in the "King's Court" (curia regis). The king's counsellors acted also as "Barons of the Exchequer," so called from the chequered cloth covering the table at which they sat, and controlled the receipts and disbursements of the treasury. Itinerant judges carried the royal power into the local courts. As his chief minister the king chose Roger whom he made bishop of Salisbury. Henry's chief merit consisted in his stern administration of justice. His hand was heavy on the disturbers of public peace, great or small, Norman or Englishmen. Yet innocent men had to suffer at times as well as the guilty. The most prominent case in point was Henry's treatment of St. Anselm.

407. Second Exile of St. Anselm, 1104–1105. — More than half a year after his recall, Anselm received a peremptory order from the king, either to become his man (pay homage), and consecrate such clergymen as the king intended to invest with certain bishopries and abbeys, or else to quit the kingdom forthwith. St. Anselm calmly opposed the decrees of the Vatican Council of 1099 to the royal demand, and stayed. The king now began to invest bishops, while the Primate refused to consecrate them or allow any one else to consecrate them. Gradually one after the other, the invested bishops repented and returned their croziers to the king. Henry not able to change the Primate's mind finally implored him to go to Rome, and treat with the Pope to obtain a relaxation of the ecclesiastical laws in favor of what Henry called his paternal customs, lest he should be held in less esteem by the nation than his predecessors. Anselm undertook the charge so far as in conscience and honor he might do. When he arrived in Rome he found already another embassador of Henry pleading before Paschal II. The Pope emphatically refused the royal demand of investiture and approved the constancy of St. Anselm. After this decision

Anselm took up his temporary abode with the Archbishop of Lyons, where a royal embassador informed him of Henry's will, that he should not return to England unless he were ready to observe the royal customs. Thus Anselm was banished a second time.

408. **Reconciliation.** — Meanwhile the king was wasting the estates of Canterbury and encouraging Nicolaitism, at least indirectly by making it a source of revenue; incontinent clerics had to pay a heavy fine into the king's treasury; he did not, however, conceal his public contempt for this sort of ecclesiastics. St. Anselm warned him by sending him three admonitory letters, the legal number before excommunication was pronounced. When Henry crossed to Normandy to pursue his campaign against Robert, the Primate was on the point of excommunicating him. But the king's sister, the countess Adela of Blois succeeded in arranging a meeting between Henry and St. Anselm at Laigle castle. , The king, at the sight of the gentle septuagenarian, was moved to tears. All personal resentment on his part disappeared, and he reconveyed to the Primate the temporalities of Canterbury by a formal document, thus relinquishing in Anselm's case the claim of investiture and of homage, 1105.

409. Settlement. — A final understanding with the Holy See was once more delayed by the king who was willing to sacrifice *lay-investiture* but wished to save the *homage* of the bishops. Anselm asked the Holy See for further instructions. The answer of Paschal II. was more favorable than Henry expected. The Pope advised Anselm to return to his see, and to deprive no prelate-elect of consecration on account of doing homage to the king, provided the king did not invest him. He should try, however, to induce the king's mind by his personal influence to relinquish the claim of homage. In this St. Anselm succeeded beyond his expectations. Very harsh and oppressive measures which Henry had taken of late to replenish the treasury for the campaign in Normandy, had roused the resistance of bishops and barons in England. The long absence of the holy Primate had told with disastrous effect on the morality and public order of the kingdom. Henry saw that only the return of St. Anselm to England would restore order and confidence. Accordingly he went to Normandy, promised to comply with the demands of the Archbishop, and sent him to England with the powers of a regent, while he brought the campaign in Normandy to a close, 1106.

In the great Council of the nation at London, 1107, the settlement arrived at by Paschal II., Henry I., and St. Anselm was publicly confirmed as the law of England, viz.: (1.) Never henceforth should a prelate receive ring and staff from the king's hand, but prelates might receive from the king such temporalities as were in his guardianship. (2.) No prelate should henceforth place his hands into the hands of a king and become his man (*homage*) but should make profession of fidelity and devotion on receipt of the temporalities (*fealty*). This concordat happily terminated the contest about investitures in England.

St. Anselm devoted the rest of his life to the administration of his see and the energetic promotion of the Gregorian reform. St. Anselm was the first great philosopher of Christian and Teutonic Europe; his works laid the basis of the future scholastic philosophy. He was as "righteous as he was learned and as gentle as he was righteous," and as inflexible at the call of duty as he was gentle. "He behaved so," says his biographer Eadmer, "that all men loved him as their dear father."

410. **Henry's Wars in France, 1111–1124 — Maine and Normandy United with England.** — The three wars of sieges, border fights and skirmishes which Henry I. waged in France after making his peace with the Church, regarded the succession in Normandy and the reconquest of Maine and other disputed territories in France. William Clito, the son of Robert of Normandy, was supported by Louis VI. of France and the counts of Flanders and Anjou against William the Aetheling, the son of Henry I. In the Peace of Gisors, 1115, William the Aetheling obtained Maine. In the second war (1116–20) Calixt II. mediated a peace in which William the Aetheling paid homage to Louis VI. for Normandy. The plans of Henry I. were tragically shattered by the sinking of the White Ship, in which William the Aetheling, his only legitimate son, several natural children, and a number of royal officers and dissolute courtiers went to the bottom. A single soul was saved to tell the tale. The catastrophe cast a gloom over Henry's last years. The third war against the partisans of William Clito was decided by the battle of Bourgtheroulde chiefly gained by the English archers, and a final peace with France, 1124. Maine and Normandy were definitely united with England. William Clito died 1128. The death of William the Aetheling raised for the first time the question of female succession in England. Matilda, the only legitimate daughter of Henry, as widow of Henry V. called Empress, returned to England in 1126. In the Christmas witan at Windsor and Westminster, 1126–27, Henry made all the great men of England, spiritual and temporal, swear to receive Matilda as the Lady of England and Normandy, if he himself should die without male heirs. He subsequently married Matilda to Geoffrey Plantagenet, the son of Fulk of Anjou, a mar-

riage which in a later reign (of Henry II.) added Anjou to the French possessions of the English king. With Henry I., who died in 1135, closed the direct line of William the Conqueror.

Lingard, vol. 3, ch. 3. *Henry I., Beauclerk.* — Mary H. Allies: *The Church in England* v. 1. *Henry I.*, p. 146. — *St. Anselm and Henry I.:* Montalembert: *Monks*, Bk. 20, ch. 6.— Stubbs: *Constit. Hist. to Henry I.*, vol. 1, 328-342. — Freeman: *Conquest, Henry I.*, ch. 23, pp. 148-242. — Gardiner: *Henry I.*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 122-131. — Creighton: *England a Continental Power.* — Hadden-Stubbs: *English Councils.* — B. Jungmann: v. 4, Diss. 22, p. 362.— Martin Rule: *The Life and Times of St. Anselm.* Other Lives, see § 6. — *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* — Lappenberg: *History of England under the Norman Kings.* — Bright: *Hist. of England.* — J. H. Larned-B. P. Lewis: *A History of England.* — H. Taylor: *The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution.* — Pollock-Maitland: *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I.*

§ 8.

THE PAPACY.

411. The Power of the Papacy. — The Pope was considered throughout Latin Christendom the highest defender of right and justice, the father of the persecuted, of orphans and widows, the acknowledged arbitrator of kings and princes. The Decretals or Papal Laws were universally accepted as public law. The kings and princes of their own accord sought the papal confirmation of their laws, treaties, judicial sentences, settlements of territorial divisions, wills, donations or revocations of the same. The monarchs of Catholic Europe addressed the Pope as their Father, and were addressed by him as sons. As early as the eighth century Gregory II. asserts it to be the office of the Popes to act as peacemakers between Christian princes and nations. They gave decisions as to the justice of wars, and many a war was shortened or entirely prevented by their mediation. Like the Emperors, the Popes conferred royal titles and received new kingdoms into the family of Catholic nations. Kings frequently placed themselves and their countries under the protection of the Holy See, when they dreaded a hostile invasion. The numerous appeals addressed by kings and princes to the Holy See to mediate in questions of international equity, are a constant proof of the confidence and veneration in which the successor of St. Peter was held by the rulers. The sovereign Pontiffs did their best to limit the use of ordeals as proofs, prohibited tournaments of a deadly character, the barbarous custom

of wreckage, the persecution of the Jews, and constantly worked for the betterment of the serving classes.

412. Excommunication. — The Church alone had the power and authority to curb the passions of evil princes in the period of transition from barbarism to civilization. From the dawn of the Middle Ages *public penances* had not only spiritual but also temporal and civil effects. The Teutonic nations from the time of their conversion acknowledged it as a principle that a prince, while under public penance, was unfit to rule. In course of time public penance was replaced by *excommunication*. The person excommunicated became an outlaw by the public laws of his own country, unless he was reconciled with the Church within a year and a day. The ancient laws of the Church prohibited all intercourse with excommunicated persons. Kings and princes as members of the Church were as little exempted from the working of this general law as prelates and churchmen. The sentence of excommunication pronounced by Pope or Council against an Emperor or king was a purely ecclesiastical act wholly within the sphere of the Church, excluding the culprit from the visible membership of the Church. It was looked upon as monstrous that a prince excluded from the Church should rule over the Christian people. The sentence of excommunication, in cases of confirmed obstinacy, could be followed by the further acts of deposition and the absolution of the subjects from the oath of allegiance, acts which were not necessarily connected with excommunication. By these additional acts, which followed only when all other means failed, the Pope or the Council did something more than simply *point out* heretical, schismatical, or excommunicated princes to the people, or *declare* that the civil effects of the excommunication recognized by the canons and by the public law of Catholic Europe, had taken effect in the person thus pointed out, for in such cases the Popes did not act merely as teachers but as *judges*. It was in the interest of the sovereigns themselves and of human society, that such a judgment was left neither to the people, nor to the assembly of the nobles, nor to the national bishops, but to the Pope or to an international Council. In the hands of the Pope or of the Council this power was a safeguard against both despotism and rebellion. Time has proved

that Popes and Councils dealt more mildly with princes than modren mobs and revolutions.

413. Absolution from the Oath of Allegiance. — The oath of allegiance was a promissory oath binding under the condition that the king discharged his sworn duties to the Church and to the people. When the subjects were in danger of being drawn into apostacy or schism by a foresworn king, the Church through the sentence of the Pope or the decree of the Council, absolved the people from further allegiance to him. Nor need we wonder at this *indirect power* of the Popes over the temporalities of princes. For a similar indirect power, regarding promissory oaths made to men, was also exercised by princes, superiors, husbands, etc., over their subjects, wives or children. By placing a prince under the ban of the Empire, the Emperor or princes' court indirectly annulled the oaths of the vassals to their outlawed lord. A sovereign can prohibit the carrying out of sworn promises if injurious to the common welfare. Husbands and fathers can indirectly annul the promissory oaths of their wives or children, because every promissory oath is taken "salva auctoritate superiorum" — saving the authority of superiors. The right of excommunication and absolution from the oath of allegiance with all their temporal effects, was universally acknowledged as part of the public laws of the Middle Ages; the kings themselves confirmed by their dynastic laws this connection of spiritual censures with temporal effects; the Salians, the Franconians, the Capetians, etc., assumed it into their domestic or palace laws; the electors in Germany were prohibited by law to elect an excommunicated king. Excommunicated sovereigns like Henry IV. and Henry V., might deny the justice of the application, but granted the justice of the principle. Frederic II. at a later period again and again solemnly acknowledged the right of the Pope to excommunicate him.

414. The Origin of Papal Power not in the Donation of Constantine. — The so-called Donation of Constantine is wholly inadequate to explain the power of the Papacy. This donation is a forged grant ascribed to the first Christian Emperor, recognizing the Primacy of the Roman Church, bestowing on the Popes the sovereignty of Rome and of all the western provinces, and allowing them the use of regal insignia. The first trace of this invention is found in a manuscript diploma now preserved in Paris, and most probably

written in the monastery of St. Denis near Paris, and mentioned by three Frankish authors in the latter half of the ninth century. The chief aim of the Frankish author, a strong adherent of the Carolingians, was to vindicate the foundation of the Western Roman Empire and the Primacy of the See of Rome against the claims and attacks of the Emperors and Patriarchs of Constantinople. Hadrian I. and St. Nicholas I. knew nothing of this donation. No mention of it is made in any pontifical act or document of the ninth, tenth and earlier part of the eleventh centuries, although several cases arose in which it would have done good service if known. St. Leo IX., however, when investing the Normans with southern Italy, and St. Peter Damian refer to it. During the Pontificate of Gregory VII. it was inserted by two Cardinals in private collections of privileges, but Gregory VII. himself never mentioned it in his extensive correspondence, never based a claim on it. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it enjoyed a far greater authority among the learned but the Popes rarely alluded to it. Innocent III., in whom the mediæval power of the Papacy reached its climax, never refers to it in his decretals and letters and only once in a panegyric on St. Sylvester. In the 14th century the document became an object of controversy, and gradually lost its defenders until it was generally acknowledged as a falsification. The Popes never interfered with the fullest liberty of opinion in this controversy or defended the genuineness of the document. They never dreamt of this donation as a bulwark of their power.

415. Nor in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. — The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals are a collection of canons, decrees and apostolic letters published by a Frankish scholar usually called Isidor Mercator, though no certainty exists as to his real name or person. The Popes had absolutely nothing to do with their publication. They were published most probably between 847 and 857, in France, where they were frequently quoted, whilst outside of France they were hardly noticed till the middle of the 11th century. They contain (a) pieces genuine in every regard (b) contemporary decrees and canons, mostly passed in Frankish synods, but ascribed to earlier Popes and Councils (c) a number of apocryphal or forged documents, either copied from private collections already existing or simply invented by the author. The aim of the forger who wrote in the midst of the turbulence which convulsed the later Carolingian Empire, was to come to the aid of the Archbishops and bishops of France, who were constantly exposed to accusations, trials, depositions, robberies and other violences committed by the secular princes. He was right in seeing the remedy in appeals from the local courts and synods to the Holy See and its recognized jurisdiction over the whole Church. But he was grievously wrong in resorting to forgery in order to invest with the halo of a higher or more ancient authority principles which nobody denied in his time. This literary fiction, though it was widely regarded as genuine, produced no essential change in the constitution of the

Church, it merely represented the actual public life of the Church as it was familiar to everybody. For the very reason, that these decretals contained no new and unheard-of theories or principles, they were generally accepted without suspicion. Neither St. Nicholas I. nor Hadrian II. relied on these false decretals in the exercise of their powers; far less had they an intention of increasing their powers beyond the limits of the divine constitution of the Church. The former appealed in his decision to well known and genuine canons and pontifical decrees; the latter refers once to these decretals but in a matter which had nothing to do with the papal power.

416. The real Source of Pontificial Power — The Popes of the Middle Ages deduced their powers neither from any donation or forged decretals nor from the public laws of their age but from the divine institution of the Primacy. No doubt, they appealed occasionally to the public laws of their times, but as to a secondary argument, never as to the source of their power. If appeals from Archbishops and bishops to the Holy See were more strongly and frequently urged than in earlier times, the reason was not an inordinate desire of the Popes to increase their powers, but the growing violence and usurpations of secular princes in spiritual affairs. They knew that they *could not* exercise their spiritual authority in all matters of faith and morals (direct power), without extending it in certain cases to temporal affairs, so far as they involved questions of morality, the loss of souls, the preservation of spiritual interests, the correction of sinners, in one word, so far as they intrenched upon religion and thus ceased to be purely temporal. The faith that was in St. Gregory VII. is typical of the views of all the great mediaeval Popes. "Who does not know," he wrote to bishop Hermann of Metz in the case of Henry IV., "what our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ has said in the gospel: Thou art Peter, etc. * * * and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall also be bound in heaven, etc. * * * Are the kings exempted from this rule? or do they not belong to the sheep whom the Son of God committed to St. Peter?" Both in the first and second excommunication of Henry IV. he bases his authority not on the public law of the times, but on his power as the successor of St. Peter. "*Blessed Peter*," he declared, "thou and the ever blessed Virgin Mother of God and all the Saints are witnesses that the Holy Roman Church has called upon me against my desire to govern her. As *thy representative* I have received from God the power to bind and loose in heaven and on earth. For the honor and security of thy Church, in the name of God Almighty, *and in thy power and authority* I prohibit Henry the king, son of Henry the Emperor, from ruling Germany and Italy," etc., The *actual exercise* of this power depended no doubt on the social condition of the Middle Ages, founded on the intimate union between the ecclesiastical and the civil society, *the unity of Christendom.* The breaking up of this unity by the Protestant Revolution prevented the *actual exercise of this indirect* power over princes,

because in the new social conditions this exercise would have worked ruin to Church and State; but it did not destroy the power itself rooted as it is in the Primacy.

417. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. — The clergy of the Middle Ages were not subject to the secular tribunals, and ecclesiastical courts had the right to judge, besides ecclesiastical, also mixed and civil cases. The origin of this immunity is to be sought in the earliest periods of Christianity. The right of judging and punishing sinful actions was conferred by Christ on the Apostles and their successors. St. Paul forbade the Christians to carry their disputes before heathen judges. The Church maintained the same prohibition during the time of the persecutions, to save the faithful from the danger of swearing by the heathen gods. Constantine the Great and his Christian successors found and recognized this immunity. In the Teutonic kingdoms, the Church gradually and completely obtained exemption from the secular courts in accordance with the general maxim of the Teutonic nations, that every one should be judged by his peers or equals. The Franks, for a time, had mixed tribunals, but in the days of Charles the Great the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over clergymen in all cases (except feudal disputes) was established and became the public law in all Catholic countries, laid down in conciliar decrees and imperial and royal constitutions. It was against the religious sentiments of the time, that priests should be judged by laymen. Before the secular arm could deal with a guilty clergyman, he had to be deposed or degraded from his office. The milder methods adopted by Church courts did much to soften the asperities of barbarous jurisdiction; it took, however, a very long time, before ecclesiastical legislation succeeded in suppressing the ordeals and the judicial combat. The ecclesiastical tribunals became the direct means of educating the new nations to purer and higher ideas of right and justice.

418. Summary of the Principles of the Middle Ages. — (1) The Church and the State have their origin in God, and are sovereign in their respective spheres. (Simile of the two swords). (2) The spiritual order intrusted with the immediate responsibility for the salvation of men is superior to the secular order. (Simile of body and soul — sun and moon, frequently used by mediæval writers).

(3) The spiritual sword is wielded by the Church, the secular sword for the Church. (4) Where there is question of sin or salvation, the Pope has the right and the duty to interfere with kings, laws, or institutions. (5) Ruling princes, in secular matters, are subject to the laws of the country, in spiritual matters, to the laws of the Church. (6) In a Christian commonwealth the civil institutions must be in harmony with the spirit of Christianity. (7) The true interests of the Church and of the State are promoted by mutual co-operation. (8) The Christian State is obliged to protect the Church when called upon to do so. (9) The harmony and concord between the two powers is cemented by the coronation-oath and the coronation-act. (10) It is a consequence of this harmony, that excommunication, after a certain lapse of time, is followed by the ban of the Empire, or punishment by the State and the ban of the Empire by excommunication. (11) The State and her laws have a claim, binding in conscience, to the reverence, fidelity, and obedience of the subjects. (12) The State has no authority over spiritual matters and persons as such (*i. e.*, apart from feudal obligations contracted by the clergy). (13) State laws in contradiction with the laws of God and of the Church are not binding. (14) The Church has no power over civil legislation in merely secular matters. (15) Difficulties arising between the two powers must be settled by mutual understanding.

419. Conclusion. — The great struggle of Gregory VII. and his successors in alliance with the Saints and monastic orders of the period was not waged for the material interests of the Holy See. Whatever success the Papacy won in this line, was of secondary importance. The victory of the Papacy consisted in the vindication of the supernatural power of faith, of Christian morality, of the dignity and purity of the human soul as redeemed by Christ. It was a triumph of conscience over brute force, of duty over passion, of right over wrong, in one word, the triumph of the supernatural and divine independence of the Church over the cunning and violence of her enemies. Had the secular power won the battle in this contest of principles, the Church of Christ would have lost her Charter of Liberty handed down to her from the Cross and sealed with the Saviour's blood; she would have been debased from the throne of a

Queen to the position of a servant, a handmaid, a police institution of the State, as all churches fared that ever separated from the center of unity, the Holy See. We owe it under God to the mighty characters of this period, that Rome remained to the present day the sanctuary of spiritual freedom, the bulwark of human dignity, and the imperishable beacon rock of Christian truth and morality.

Card. Hergenroether: *The Power of the Papacy, Catholic Church and Christian State*, v. 1, page 273. — *Excommunication and its Consequences in the Middle Ages:* Ibid., v. 2, p. 293. — *The Donation of Constantine:* Ibid., v. 2, p. 164. — *Ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the Princes:* Ibid., v. 1, pp. 529-358. — *The Church and Matters Temporal:* Ibid., v. 2, p. 204. — *Influence of the Church on Social and Political Life:* Ibid., v. 1, p. 255. — B. Jungmann: *De Collectione Decretalium Pseudo-Isidori*, vol. 3, Dissert. 16, p. 225. — *De Influxu Decretalium Pseudo-Isidori in Disciplinam Ecclesiae:* Ibid., p, 282. — *Vindiciae S. Gregorii VII.* (about Papal power and its source), v. 4, Dissert. 21, p. 311. — *De Donatione Constantini*, v. 5, Dissert. 23, p. 24. — Reuben Parsons: *The False Decretals of Isidor Mercator*, Studies, v. 2, p. 90; *The Right of the Pope to Depose Sovereigns*, Studies, v. 2, p. 202. — R. F. Clarke: *The False Decretals*, C. T. S. P. — J. A. Corcoran: *Excommunication*, A. C. Q., v. 12, p. 663; *The Papal Power and the Roman Forgeries*, A. C. Q., v. 2, p. 532; *About Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, H. J. B., v. 8, p. 559. — *Das Papstthum auf Betrug und Fälschung begründet: Geschichtslügen II., Das Mittelalter.*

CONTEST ABOUT LAY-INVESTITURE.

THE REFORMATORY POPES OF THE PERIOD.

Gregory V. (Bruno), 996-999.
Sylvester II. (Gerbert), 999-1003.
Benedict VIII., 1012-1024.
Clement II., 1046-1049.
ST. LEO IX., 1049-1054.
Victor II., 1055-1057.
Stephen X., 1057-1058.
Nicholas II., 1058-1061.

Popes elected under the Decree of Nicholas II.

Alexander II., 1061-1073.
GREGORY VII., 1073-1085.
Victor III., 1086-1087.
URBAN II., 1088-1099.
Paschal II., 1099-1118.
Gelasius II., 1118-1119.
CALIXT II., 1119-1124.

Emperors and Kings of the Period.

Salian House in Germany.
3. Henry IV., 1056-1106.
(Never a legitimate Emperor.)
4. Henry V., 1106-1125; Emp. Henry III., 1111-1125.

Capetian House in France.
4. Philip I., 1060-1108.

Norman House in England.
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, 1066-1087.
William Rufus, 1087-1100.
Henry I., 1100-1135.

Germany.

HENRY IV., son of Henry the Black, crowned at the age of four; succeeded at the age of six, under the regency of *Agnes of Poitiers*. Beginning of his personal government, 1072.

CIVIL WARS IN GERMANY.

1. Great national rising of the **SAXONS** against Henry's tyranny. Henry's flight from *Harzburg*, 1073. Treaty of *Gerstungen*, 1074. Defeat of the Saxons at *Hohenburg*, 1075. The Saxons, treated as a conquered nation, appealed to **GREGORY VII.**
2. Election of *Rudolf of Suabia*. Civil war between *Henry IV. and Rudolf of Suabia*, 1077-1080. Rudolf of Suabia mortally wounded in his victory *on the Elster*, 1080.

CONTEST ABOUT INVESTITURES, 1075-1122.

1059. **ELECTION DECREE OF NICHOLAS II:** The Cardinal-*bishops* the real electors, the rest of the clergy and people *accede* to it. Right of royal or imperial *confirmation* made a privilege to be granted *personally* to the king.

1073. Unanimous election of **GREGORY VII.**

1074. Gregory's first Lenten synod renewed the decrees against *Simony* and *Nicolaitism*.

1075. Second Lenten synod: **PROHIBITION OF LAY-INVESTITURE.** *Henry IV.* summoned to Rome.

1076. (Jan.) Sham synods of *Worms* and *Piacenza*. Gregory declared deposed. *Lenten synod:* Gregory banned the king and suspended him from the exercise of his royal functions.

1076. **DIET OF TRIBUR.** Henry saved from deposition by the princes through Gregory's legates.

1077. **MEETING AT CANOSSA.** Temporary reconciliation.

1080. Henry's *second* excommunication and deposition.

1080. Schismatical synod of *Brixen; Wibert*, Archbishop of *Ravenna* chosen antipope, "*Clement III.*"

England.

William the Conqueror. *William Rufus*, second son of William the Conqueror. "The evil king," 1087–1100.

Henry I., Beauclerk, third son of William the Conqueror. Married *Matilda*, the daughter of *Malcolm* and *St. Margaret* of Scotland, 1100–1135.

HENRY V., youngest son of Henry IV., King, 1106–1125. **EMPEROR**, 1111–1125.

3. 1081. Election of Count *Herman of Luxemburg* as rival king. The civil war continued — 1088.

4. Civil wars between *Henry IV.* and his *sons*. (a) *Conrad* in *Italy* (d. 1101). (b) *Henry* (V.) in *Germany*, 1101–1106.

Civil war in Germany under Henry V., 1114–1121. The vassals of the Archbishop of *Koeln* defeated Henry in open battle. Duke **LOTHAR OF SUPPLINBURG** destroyed Henry's authority in *Saxony* for the rest of his reign, by the victory of

1080-1100. Schism of the Wibertists.

1084. Capture of Rome by *Henry IV.* The antipope, installed by two excommunicated bishops, crowned the king (illegitimate) Emperor. King and antipope driven from Rome, and Gregory rescued from the castle of St. Angelo by **ROBERT WISCARD.**

1085. Death of St. Gregory VII. at Salerno.

1093. **ST. ANSELM** (1093–1109) elected Archbishop of Canterbury, refused Investiture at the hands of *William Rufus.*

1095. *Council of Rockingham.* Prelates side with the King, barons with the Primate. Anselm refused investiture with the *pallium* by the King.

1097-1100. First banishment of *St. Anselm* by *William Rufus.* Recalled by *Henry Beauclerk.*

1099. St. Anselm in the Vatican Council which prohibited lay-Investiture and *homage of churchmen by intromission of hands.*.

1104-1105. St. Anselm resisting the re-introduction of lay-Investiture and homage by *Henry I*, banished a second time.

1104. **PHILIP I. OF FRANCE**, after wavering for years between defiance and submission, renounces Investiture with *ring and staff*, and submits to the Church in the *Council of Paris.*

1105. Personal reconciliation between *Henry I.* and *St. Anselm*, mediated by the King's sister, *Adela of Blois.*

1107. **GREAT COUNCIL OF THE NATION AT LONDON.** Prohibition of investiture with ring and staff, and homage of prelates by intromission of hands confirmed by the law of England

1111. *Treaty of Sutri;* the German Prelates to renounce their fiefs, the King to renounce the *claim of investiture.*

1111. **THE SACRILEGE AT ST. PETER'S.** Paschal II. as prisoner of Henry V. is forced to grant the privilege of investing with ring and staff (*pravilegium*).

1112. The *Pravilegium* condemned with the consent of Paschal by the Councils in the *Lateran*, at *Vienne*, etc.

1119. **COUNCIL OF RHEIMS** under **CALIXT II.**; simony and investiture again condemned; Henry V. and his antipope *Burdinus* (Gregory VIII.) excommunicated.

CONTEST ABOUT LAY-INVESTITURE — *Continued.*

Welfswood (Welfesholze) near *Mansfeld*, 1115. The citizens of *Mainz* forced the Emperor to release their Archbishop from cruel imprisonment. In Italy, Henry V. harassed, as his father had done, and appropriated the *alodial* inheritance of *Matilda*, belonging to the Holy See.

1122. THE PACTUM CALIXTINUM OR CONCORDAT OF WORMS. The Emperor renounced all investitures with ring and staff, and guaranteed canonical freedom of elections, which Calixt allowed to be held in the King's presence. The temporalities to be conferred on the prelates with the *scepter*, in Germany *before*, in Italy and Burgundy *after* consecration.

1123. THE IX. GENERAL COUNCIL, I. in the West, I. in the **LATERAN**, confirmed the reformatory decrees of the previous Councils about Nicolaitism, simony, lay-investiture and the Concordat of Worms.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREEK EMPIRE AND THE SCHISM.

420. The Eastern Empire. — The Eastern Empire in the ninth century was confined to the Greek parts of Europe and Asia Minor. The rule of Irene was followed by a number of palace revolutions in the political and a renewal of Iconoclastic disturbances in the religious world. At the same time the Empire was harassed by the Bulgarians in the North. Sicily was lost to the African Moslem and the island of Crete changed into a pirate state by the Spanish Moors under Michael III. (842–867). The Iconoclastic controversy was ended by his mother, the Empress-regent Theodora, who restored the veneration of the sacred images. But instead, a new and more dangerous schism broke out which led to the permanent separation of the Eastern and Western Churches.

421. Outbreak of the Photian Schism. — In 857 Michael at the instigation of his uncle Bardas deposed his mother and forced her and her daughters into a convent. At the time St. Ignatius was Patriarch of Constantinople. By fearlessly reprehending their gross immorality he had incurred the wrath of the Emperor and of Bardas and added fuel to the flame when he refused to give the veil to the imperial ladies against their will. Accordingly without any accusation or trial St. Ignatius was transported to the island of Terebinthus and thrust into a monastery. The court demanded his resignation but failing to obtain it deposed him in favor of Photius. Photius was a layman and a courtier, a scholar of great genius and extensive learning, an accomplished man of affairs, who understood to screen the most unscrupulous and dishonest methods of a boundless ambition with a veil of sanctimonious probity. Within seven days he received all the orders at the hands of an excommunicated bishop, and was enthroned as Patriarch of Constantinople.

422. General Causes of the Schism. — (a.) A tradition of unrest clung to the See of Constantinople. From its first bishop to the Patriarchate of St. Ignatius, 58 bishops had ruled the church of New Rome. Whilst many of them were saintly men, not less than 21 were heretics or promoters of heresy, and more than twenty were deposed by despotic Emperors.

(b.) Diversity in national character, language, rites, discipline, e. g., concerning the celibacy of the lower clergy, monastic institutions, feast and fast days and general legislation, created differences and difficulties which while still compatible with the essential unity of the Church, contained the germs of a possible future rupture. Whilst a vigorous, intellectual and social life and progress manifested itself in all the new nations of the West, and their synods were indefatigable in legislating for a constant improvement of manners, the Eastern Church had sunk into a state of languor, stagnation and rigid adherence to the forms and traditions of the past, and left all the legislative work to the Emperors.

(c.) Since the reign of Justinian I. a system had crept in which is designated by the term Caesaro-Papism. Bishops were kept in servile dependency on the Metropolitans, Metropolitans on the Patriarch, the Patriarch with the rest on the Emperor. On the other hand the clergy shared the contempt which led the Byzantines to look upon the western nations as barbarians, whilst they in their narrow pride and national conceit posed as the representatives of New Rome, the seat of the only true Empire, the queen of the world and the exclusive home of art and culture. This combination of tendencies is called Byzantinism.

4. Although earlier schisms, from Arianism to Iconoclasm had always been followed by a reunion of the two Churches, still it was natural that they left the seeds of new divisions in disaffected and unruly minds.

5. Whilst the violences of the Emperors and exarchs, the devastations of the Patrimonies, the cruelties of the image breakers, were not forgotten in the West, the East never forgave the establishment of the Pope's civil power in Italy and the foundation of a *barbarian* Empire in the West by Leo III. and Charles the Great. Still the motives of existing dissensions in the ninth century had rather a political than an ecclesiastical character. As yet nobody had denied the Primacy of the See of St. Peter. It was the work of Photius to make the breach irreparable.

423. St. Nicholas I. and Photius. — Meanwhile Ignatius was dragged from prison to prison and his faithful adherents among the higher and lower clergy were cruelly persecuted by Photius, who had the effrontery of informing Nicholas I. that Ignatius had voluntarily abdicated on account of old age, and that he himself had been unanimously elected. Nicholas whom some rumors of foul

play had reached, sent two legates to Constantinople, ordering them to treat Photius as a layman until the case of Ignatius should be cleared up. The legates arriving in Constantinople in 860, were kept in detention by the Emperor for one hundred days, and between the threats of Michael and Bardas and the bribes of Photius ended with shamefully betraying their trust. They made common cause with Photius in a partisan synod in which a falsified version of the papal letters was read, and lent their authority to the degradation of St. Ignatius and the usurpation of Photius. Nicholas I. to whom Ignatius now appealed, condemned in a Roman synod, the action of Constantinople, excommunicated Photius and banned and deposed his faithless legates (863).

In 866 Bardas was murdered by the Macedonian Basilius, the new favorite of the Emperor. Photius at once transferred his friendship from the murdered benefactor to the murderer.

424. The Doctrinal Foundation of the Photian Schism.— In 867 Photius thought that the favorable moment had come for open aggression. He summoned a synod to Constantinople, packed it with partisans and impostors, and raised the two prominent charges against the Roman Church which have remained the basis of the great schism, viz.: that by inserting into the creed the words, The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father "*and the Son*" the Roman Church had betrayed the faith, and that by the transfer under Constantine the Great of the capital from old to new Rome *the Primacy of the Roman See had been transferred to Constantinople*. On these and some minor charges the schismatical assembly pronounced the anathema and the deposition of St. Nicholas I.

425. The Eighth General Council, Fourth of Constantinople, 869.— The same year a palace revolution completely changed the prospects of Photius. Basil through a band of conspirators murdered the wretched Michael III. in a drunken sleep, and ruling in his stead, relegated Photius to a monastery and recalled Ignatius. Hadrian II. received with favor the proposal of Basil to summon a General Council for the purpose of restoring

peace to the Eastern Church. The Council met in Constantinople, 869. It was presided over by three legates of the Pope, and affirmed in the fullest sense the Primacy of the Apostolic See of Rome, deposed and excommunicated Photius and his adherents, declared Ignatius the lawful Patriarch of Constantinople, condemned once more the image-breakers, and passed a number of disciplinary decrees.

426. **Photius Reinstated.** — Meanwhile Photius by personal letters and flatteries, and by the influence of powerful friends, had gradually softened the Emperor's resentment. He completely won his favor by forging a pedigree which traced the family of the low-born Macedonian to Miridates, king of Armenia. Basil called him to court and intrusted him with the education of his children. Three days after the saintly death of Ignatius, 377, imperial favor replaced Photius in the See of Constantinople. The great majority of the bishops accepted the situation. The Emperor urgently wrote to Rome for confirmation. To avert a new schism John VIII. consented to the rehabilitation of Photius under condition that he should ask pardon for the past in a synod. When the legates arrived, Photius obtained possession of the papal letters under the pretext of translating them, and completely transformed them. In this boldest of many forgeries he made John VIII. condemn the Eighth General Council, whilst the Pope upheld it in its full authority, and only dispensed Photius from the personal effects of its action; he transformed the conditional into an unconditional reinstatement, suppressed every mention of Ignatius, every statement unfavorable to himself, and added excessive praises of his own person as coming from the pen of John VIII., which nowhere occurred in the letters. With this document in his hands, and aided by the weak connivance of the papal legates he obtained an unconditional reinstatement in a synod of 380 bishops, and maintained it, in spite of repeated excommunication, till the death of Basil in 886. Leo the Philosopher, his former disciple, banished him once more to a monastery. He seems to have spent his last years in literary labors in which he propagated his views about the procession of the Holy Ghost and the Primacy of Rome.

427. The Schism Revived by Caerularius, 1043. — The Schism, for a time extinguished, was revived in 1043 by the haughty and ignorant Caerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who added a few ridiculous accusations to the more weighty charges of Photius. At the request of Emperor Constantine IX., Pope St. Leo IX. sent three legates to Constantinople with a written refutation of

the charges of Caerularius. The Patriarch and his party refused all communication with the legates, forbade them to celebrate mass, and displayed such hostility to the plan of union proposed by the Emperor, that on the 16th of July, 1054, the legates laid the document of the Patriarch's excommunication upon the high altar of St. Sophia's church, and left Constantinople. All further efforts of union, even the deposition and banishment of Caerularius, failed to effect a permanent reunion. The haughty Patriarch and his party had succeeded in filling the minds of the populace with a blind hatred of the Western Church. The other Patriarchates of the East remained in union with the Holy See till the twelfth century, when they were gradually drawn into the schism. The Russian Church shared the fate of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, to which she was immediately subjected. But so imperceptibly did the schism enter Russia that their ritual books retain to the present day a series of prayers which express the faith in the Primacy of the Roman See in the fullest sense. It was only when the Greek Nicephorus became Metropolitan of Kief, that the Byzantine hatred of Rome was instilled into the Russian Church. But it was then too late to change the form of the liturgical books sanctioned by immemorial use.

428. The Earlier Macedonian Emperors.

Basil the Macedonian, founder of the dynasty, 867–886. His son:
Leo VI., the Philosopher, 886–912. His son:
Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus, 912–959.
Regents (a) his uncle *Alexander* as co-emperor, 912–913.
(b) A commission of regency, 913–919.
(c) His father-in-law *Romanus Lecapenus* crowned co-emperor, 919–945.
Sole Rule of Constantine VII., 945–959.

This son of a philosopher was himself author, musical composer, painter and architect, but a poor ruler whose fortune it was that his reign fell in a period of profound peace. Traditional despotism above, surrounded by a pompous court-etiquette and supported by a well-drilled provincial administration, quiet acquiescence below, the legislative power of the senate suppressed, the municipal rights abolished by Leo VI., the people entertained by costly shows, and fleeced by a system of merciless taxation — thus the Eastern Empire, now thoroughly Greek, pursued during these ninety years the even tenor of a calm, stationary and inglorious existence.

429. The Later Macedonian Emperors — External Growth of the Empire.

Romanus II., son of Constantine VII., 959–963. His infant sons:
Basil II., 963–1025, } Regents and co-emperors:
Constantine VIII., 963–1028, } *Nicephorus Phocas*,
who married their mother Theophano, 963–969,
John I. Zimisces, the lover of Theophano, who murdered Nicephorus at her instigation but sent her to a convent, 969–976. He was murdered by his minister Basilius.
Personal rule of *Basil II.*, } 976–1025.
Personal rule of *Constantine VIII.*, } 1025–1028.
Zoe, daughter of Constantine VIII., 1028–1050:
Co-emperors: *Romanus III.*, her first husband, 1028–1034.
Michael IV., the Paphlagonian, her second husband, 1034–1041.
Michael V., her adopted son, 1041–1042.
Constantine IX., her third husband, 1042–1054.
Theodora, Zoe's sister, the last Macedonian, 1054–1057.

More stirring times, a period of conquest and military glory, came under the successors of Constantine VII. Nicephorus Phocas conquered the island of Crete from the Spanish Moors, added Cyprus to the Empire, and extended its frontiers by the conquest of Cilicia and of northern Syria. John Zimisces attacked the aggressive Russians between the Danube and the Balkans, and after two victories compelled them by the close siege of Silistria to accept a peace which for the future relieved the Empire from the inroads of its most formidable northern foe. With Otto I. he concluded the marriage treaty which gave the younger Theophano to Otto II. Basil II., the Slayer of the Bulgarians, in a series of expeditions lasting from 981–1018, put an end to the independent kingdom of the Bulgarians. On one occasion (1014) he put out the eyes of 15,000 prisoners, only sparing one eye of every hundredth man to lead home his orbless comrades.

430. The Empire Under Dukas and the Comneni, 1057–1204 — After the extinction of the Macedonian line the army proclaimed the general Isaac Comnenus Emperor. His confiscations soon made him odious, and upon his retiring into a monastery Constantine Dukas, a friend of his house, assumed the purple. His widow Eudoxia married the general Romanus Diogenes, who suffered a great defeat in the battle of Manzikert, 1071, at the hands of the Seljuk Turks. The Seljuks conquered nearly all the Byzantine possessions in Asia, while the Normans won southern Italy and Sicily. In 1081 the Comneni reascended the throne. Three Emperors of this

House, Alexius I. Comnenus, his son Kalo-Joannes, and his grandson Manuel I. not only maintained themselves through a whole century (1081–1180) against the factions and conspiracies within the Empire, but defended the Empire on three sides against the attacks of foreign foes, the Seljuks in the East, the Normans of Lower Italy, and the Petchenegs and Kumanes in the North. Less creditable was their treacherous policy towards the Crusaders. With Isaac Angelus, who overthrew the bloody usurper Andronicus, a side-line of the Comneni followed from 1085–1204.

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BOOK III.

THE CRUSADES — RISE OF THE PAPACY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FIRST TO THE THIRD CRUSADE.

§ 1.

THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD.

431. Haroun al Rashid and Mamoun. — With the revolution of the Abbassides Mohammedan history lost its unity. The Eastern Caliphate reigned at Bagdad 500 years from the establishment of the Abbassides (750–1258). The greatest Caliph of this line was Haroun al Rashid, Aaron the Sage, 786–809. He defeated the Greeks, ravaged Asia Minor, and captured Cyprus. With Charles the Great he exchanged friendly embassies. The reigns of Haroun and of his son Al Mamoun (813–833) form the most flourishing period of Arabian astronomy, poetry, philosophy and general literature. The causes, however, which soon weakened and finally destroyed the Caliphate of Bagdad, began to work under Al Mamoun and his successor Al Motassem.

432. Causes of Decline — (1) The Claims of Rival Caliphs. — Foremost among these causes were the claims of rival Caliphs. Besides the Omiad Caliphate of Cordova, a new Fatimite Caliphate rose in western Africa, when the Imam Mohammed al Mahdi, who claimed descent from Hosein, son of Ali and Fatima, revolted in 908, and obtained the sovereignty of a considerable portion of Africa. Muezzedin, his fourth successor, obtained possession of Egypt about 967, and founded Cairo as the capital of the Caliphate. The claims of

the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt as the successors of Ali were preached throughout Islam, and their temporal power was rapidly extended into the adjoining provinces of Syria and Arabia.

433. (2) The Rise of New Dynasties in the Provinces. — Separate dynasties gradually arose in the remote provinces which acquired a real independence, though they nominally recognized the Commander of the Faithful as their sovereign. Under the successive dynasties of the East all real power slipped out of the hands of the Caliph of Bagdad, but his name was still retained on the coins and in the public prayers. Such dynasties were the Tahirites at Khorassan, descendants of Al Mamoun's general Taher. The Dilemites in Persia (983–1056) became powerful through Ahmed the Dilemite, who established himself Vizier of the Caliphs of Bagdad, 935, under the title of Emir al Omra, prince of princes. For more than a century the Caliphs were kept in tutelage by these Emirs.

434. (3) Rise of the Seljuk Turks. — In the central portion of Asia, adjoining the Mongol territories towards the East, dwelt the powerful Turanian race of the Turks, the successors of the Huns, the Magyars and the Bulgarians. These Turks were first the subjects, then the soldiers, and finally became the masters of the Saracens. The Omiad conquests in Transoxania had given the Caliphs some Turkish subjects and some Turkish enemies. The slaves supplied by the former and the captives supplied by the latter, were organized by the Caliph Motassem into a standing guard, the first Mamelukes or slave soldiers, who became powerful enough to set up and overthrow, at their pleasure, Caliphs within the line of Abbas. These Turks who came in contact with the Caliphate adopted the Islam as their faith because it gave religious sanction to their ferocity and greed. It was to defend the Caliphs against these mercenaries that the office of Emir al Omra had been instituted. Yet the insolence of the Dilemite Emirs went so far that the Caliph Al Kayem applied for aid to Togrul Beg, the Seljukian master of a great Turkish Empire. Togrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, assumed in 1035 sovereignty in Chorassan, overthrew an earlier Turkish dynasty, that of Mahmoud of Ghazin in Persia, conquered India, and occupied Bagdad where he was acknowledged as Caliph. His nephew

Alp Arslan (1063–1072) conquered Armenia and Georgia. His victory at Manzekert, 1071, gave all the interior of Asia Minor to the Seljuks and brought them to the gates of Constantinople. Alp Arslan was succeeded by Malek Shah. Suleiman, one of his generals, conquered Nice and his successors established the Sultanate of Roum, of which Nice was the capital, whilst the rest of the Seljukian monarchy split up into many rival Sultanates.

435. (4) The Rise of Anarchic and Destructive Sects. — A further cause of the decline of the Caliphate of Bagdad was the rise of utterly anarchic and destructive sects. The Kalamites in eastern Arabia declared eternal war against the pomp of Bagdad, plundered caravans to Mecca, slew the pilgrims by thousands and stormed and plundered Mecca itself. The Assassins (from hashishin = drinker of hashish, a strong inebriating draught) were not a dynasty but an order with a hereditary grand-master, the Old Man of the Mountain. An emissary of the Old Man, if ordered to assassinate a Caliph, Sultan, or Christian prince, or to throw himself into an abyss, did so in blind obedience. Their founder, Hassan Sabah, seized in 1090 the castle of Alamont — the vulture's nest — in northern Persia, whence the sect extended their possessions over a whole chain of mountain fortresses in Persia and Syria.

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§ 2.

CAUSES OF THE CRUSADES.

436. Pilgrimages. — From the earliest times the faithful had shown great veneration to the places hallowed by the footsteps of our Redeemer. Constantine the Great and his mother, St. Helen, built magnificent churches over the Cave of Bethlehem and the Sepulchre at Jerusalem. St. Jerome took up his abode in a cave near Bethlehem; Roman ladies of Patrician rank and innumerable others visited the Holy Places. Asylums for the support of the pilgrims were founded in the Holy Land. Gregory the Great built a

large hospice for the reception of pilgrims at Jerusalem. The capture of the holy city by Chosroes II. and later by Omar only temporarily checked the stream of pilgrimages. Notwithstanding the hardships of the journey, people of all classes, rich and poor, barons, counts and princes of the Empire; dukes of Anjou, Flanders, and Normandy, ladies from Sweden, undertook the pilgrimage. The conversion of Hungary opened a safe highway across Europe, and the pilgrims found a defender and a friend in St. Stephen, king of Hungary. Archbishops, bishops and other dignitaries of the Empire, accompanied by thousands of pilgrims, journeyed to the Holy Places.

437. **Fatimite Persecution.** — Under the Caliphs of Bagdad pilgrimages were not hindered and divine worship, though under many restrictions, could be celebrated in private. The position of the Christians became still more favorable, when Charles the Great and Haroun al Rashid exchanged gifts and embassies. But there came a great change, when Syria and Jerusalem fell into the power of the Fatimites of Egypt (969). The third Caliph of this line, Al Hakem (996–1020), destroyed the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem and a thousand others; all religious ceremonies were prohibited, Christian blood flowed in all the cities of Syria and Egypt. For the first time, a Pope, Sylvester II., in the year 1000 called upon the faithful of the West, to send armed assistance to their brethren in the East. The early deaths of Sylvester II. and Otto III. frustrated the plan.

438. **The Seljuk Invasion.** — The invasion of the Seljuks and the capture of Jerusalem by Orthok (1076) increased the sufferings of the Christians. The customary pilgrim's tax was replaced by a system of extortion and robbery. Native Christians were despoiled of their property and reduced to extreme misery. The pilgrims saw the holiest mysteries desecrated by the infidels, the Patriarch of Jerusalem dragged by his hair along the pavement and thrown into a dungeon. By hundreds and thousands, pilgrims went to the Holy Land, and returned by tens and units, to spread the tales of the miseries which they had witnessed in the East. St. Gregory VII. had the intention of proceeding to Palestine at the head of a Christian army. Already his manifestoes had gone forth to the princes of Europe, many of whom were gained for the undertaking. Gregory could write to Henry IV. that 50,000 men were standing ready beyond the Alps to follow him. He kept up a lively intercourse with the Greek Emperor Michael Dukas. But the contest which broke out about lay-investitures prevented the execution of the great design.

439. **The Spirit of Religion.** — The recital of these sufferings kindled both the religious fervor and the military spirit of the time, and resulted in the Crusades or religious wars waged by the Christians of the West against the Mohammedans. Christendom considered Jesus Christ the Redeemer of mankind, as claiming its highest allegiance. The Holy Places, and above all

the Sepulchre of Christ, were looked upon as the visible embodiment of the mysteries of Redemption. The work of the Crusaders is designated by contemporary writers as opus Dei, the work of God; their achievements are gesta Dei, deeds of God; they were to fight bravely for the cause of God. The Crusader affixed the cross to his shoulder in order that he might offer to Christ cross for cross and suffering for suffering, and that by mortifying his desires he might share with Him in the resurrection. On such religious views the conviction was founded that failure and death in this holy war were not less blessed than success and victory. In many Crusaders, no doubt, less worthy motives mingled with religious enthusiasm or were even the mainsprings of their actions; the spirit of adventure, worldly ambition, love of gain, luxury and vice are seen side by side with Christian resignation, sincerest piety and heroism of virtue. In this the Crusaders shared the fate of all human undertakings. Nevertheless, only in an age in which faith in Christ and love of the Redeemer were living, powerful, and generally recognized principles of action, in which religious interests counted for the highest, were the Crusades possible. They are the grandest movements of the Middle Ages.

440. **The Influence of the Church.** — The influence and direction of the Church greatly furthered the undertaking. The Church received the vows of the Crusaders, furnished a great portion of the means by taxing church property, and effectually secured the Truce of God during the absence of the pilgrims. The ascetical spirit fostered by Cluny and her daughter institutions taught the Crusaders to consider the hardships and sacrifices connected with the Crusades as fit works of penance for past sins, and the Church granted indulgences to all who took the cross in the spirit of true contrition, opening thereby new means of expiation and conversion, which were in harmony with the chivalrous spirit of the age. The most powerful influence on the Crusades was exercised by the Papacy. The Pope had naturally to take the lead in an undertaking which the Catholic nations considered a common affair of Christendom. The Popes became the guides of the masses that took the Cross against the power of the Crescent. They kept alive the religious motives which inspired the first Crusaders; they infused a certain uniformity of action into these sacred enterprises, they placed the families, the property, the countries of the Crusaders under the protection of St. Peter, and defended them with all the authority of the Holy See. As Urban II., the great representative of Cluny, set the first Crusade in motion, and took the necessary measures to preserve its religious spirit, so it was ever after the Popes who organized new Crusades.

441. **The Warlike Spirit of the Age.** — The sentiments of religion were seconded by the spirit of chivalry, which had arisen some time before the beginning of the Crusades. The love of arms was the characteristic passion of the Teutonic nations. Western Europe, on the continent at least, was

divided into a great number of more or less independent dukedoms and principalities within narrowly confined boundaries, which afforded but a scanty field for military achievements. The Crusaders, seized by the religious enthusiasm, which was shared alike by all classes, high and low, clergy and laymen, women and children, directed their warlike ardor into nobler and wider channels. The wisdom of the most pious and statesmanlike men of the times taught them to fight for the faith, for the spread of Christian civilization against the inroads of Saracen and Turk, instead of wasting their strength in family wars and feudal conflicts.

442. **Justice of the Holy Wars.** — The justice of the Crusades is beyond question. They were essentially wars of defense against the growing domination and tyranny of Saracens and Turks, who at the time were threatening all Christendom. Large Christian territories were already in the relentless grasp of the infidel. The Christians of the West in answering the appeal of the Byzantine Emperors, and coming to the aid of the eastern Christians, not only acted within their rights, but performed an act of heroic charity. There can be no higher or more legitimate cause of war than to defend the Christian faith, the rights and the honor of religion against the atrocities, sacrileges and persecutions of the infidels.

443. Urban II. and Peter the Hermit — The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont, 1095. — The sentiments of anger and shame at the indignities suffered by the Christians in the East found at last telling expression in the eloquent speeches of Peter the Hermit. Peter, a nobleman of Amiens, had chosen the life of a hermit in Picardy and had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Returning in 1093, he preached the cross with astonishing success in Italy, Germany and France. But a more powerful man, Pope Urban II., gave his whole support to the enterprise. In the great Council on the Plains of Piacenza, attended by 4,000 of the clergy and 30,000 laymen, he addressed his first appeal to the warriors of the West. The Eastern Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, had sent an embassy to appeal to the western princes for aid against the Moslem. But it was in the Council of Clermont, in France, that the glowing address of Urban II. was greeted with the universal shout: God wills it! God wills it! Many thousands took the cross on the spot. Urban himself in a letter addressed to Alexius Comnenus estimated the number of those whom the Council of Clermont induced to take the cross at 300,000. All who received the cross took the vow of an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem to

deliver the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the infidels. Both Councils were held in the year 1095, in which the Fatimites of Egypt reconquered Jerusalem from the Seljuks.

Thomas Wright, ed. with introduction: *Early Travels in Palestine* (contemporary; Bohn's Library). — Michaud-Bobson: *History of the Crusades* (3 vols.). — Bongars: *Gesta Dei per Francos.* — R. Parsons: *The Crusades; Their Justice and Effects: Studies*, v. II., p. 246. — *The Truce of God, ibid.*, p. 258. — B. Jungmann, vol. V., Dissert. 23. — *Translations and Reprints* (University of Pennsylvania): *Urban and the Crusaders*, vol. 1, No. 2. — v. Sybel-Gordon: *The History and Literature of the Crusades.* — Archer and Kingsford: *The Crusades* (St. of N. S.). — Archer *on the Crusades:* E. H. R., v. 4, pp. 89–105. — Oman: *Art of War; Byzantine Empire.* — F. F. Urquhart: *The Crusades*, M. '98, 3, p. 127. — Montalembert: *Monks of the West*, Bk. 20, chs. 3, 4, 7, 8. — Prutz: *Culturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge.* — *Recuil des Histoires des Croisades* (vol. 1-3, western histories, 1-X eastern). — Lavisse-Rambaud: *L'Europe féodale; Les Croisades*, vol. 2, 1095-1270 (Hist. Générale). — Wilkes: *Geschichte der Kreuzzuge* (7 vols.). — Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte*, v. 5. — Hergenroether: *Kirchengesch.*, v. 1, p. 805, etc. — Damberger: *Synchron. Geschichte*, v. VII. — Vambèry: *Story of Hungary.* — See also works quoted under § 1.

§ 3.

THE FIRST CRUSADE, 1095–1099.

444. Disorderly Van. — Several irregular and undisciplined bands of adventurers set out for the East in advance of the regular crusading army, not without committing excesses and harassing the Jews on their way. Some of these bands were cut down in Hungary. A party of Germans under Walter the Penniless were destroyed in Bulgaria. The French, 40,000 strong, under Peter the Hermit and Walter de Pacy, reached Constantinople and crossed the Bosporus, but nearly all were massacred by the forces of Kilidje Arslan, the Sultan of Nice. Peter the Hermit escaped to Constantinople and accompanied the first Crusade. Their disordered zeal showed at least "how the heart of Europe had been touched by the movement."

445. Leaders of the First Crusade. — The nobles spent the winter in organizing their forces. Foremost among the leaders was Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, prominent by his bravery, wisdom, uprightness, and purity of life; 80,000 infantry and 10,000 knights and squires followed his standard. He was accompanied by his brothers Baldwin and Eustace of Boulogne and his nephew Baldwin the younger. Hugh of Vermandois led his own men and the subjects of his brother, king Philip I., of France. The vassals of Normandy followed their own duke, the generous but rash Robert, eldest son of William the Conqueror. He had pledged his dukedom to his brother William Rufus, the king of England, to obtain the funds for the expedition. The rest of the Crusaders

of northern France were led by Robert, count of Flanders, "the Lance and the Sword of the Christians," and by count Stephen of Blois, the owner, it is said, of as many castles as the year has days. Southern France mustered to the number of 100,000 under the wise and pious count Raymond of Toulouse, who had fought the infidels before at the side of the Cid. Norman Italy sent the son and the nephew of Robert Wiscard, Bohemund, prince of Tarentum, the brave warrior and astute statesman, and the gallant Tancred, with many nobles of southern Italy. Adhemar, bishop of Puy, guided the councils of the princes as the Legate of Urban II., and supplied in some degree the want of military union in the vast army. The religious fervor of the Crusaders formed an excellent basis of discipline. The Germans under Godfrey and part of the French took their way through Hungary and Bulgaria, the rest of the French and the Normans of Italy, across the Adriatic and through Epirus. By April, 1097, all had arrived at Constantinople.

446. At Constantinople and Before Nice. — Alexius Comnenus was alarmed by the number and strength of the Crusaders and yet wished to profit by them without risk to himself. His tortuous policy got him into difficulties with the princes, which were finally smoothed over by an agreement in which Alexius promised supplies and protection to the Crusaders, while most of them took the oath of fealty to him for the conquests to be made within the former borders of the Empire. The pledges of Alexius were never redeemed. The Crusaders, numbering, it is said, about half a million, then crossed the Bosporus, and began the siege of Nice.

Kilidje Arslan was defeated before the city, and a breach effected in the walls after a siege of six weeks. But owing to secret negotiations the city surrendered to the deputies of Alexius who had joined the army, and the Crusaders were cheated out of the fruit of their labors. Kilidje Arslan with an army of 150,000 Turks attacked the first division of the Christians on their march to Mount Taurus but was signally defeated by the timely arrival of the second division under Godfrey of Bouillon. This battle at Dorylaeum freed the Christian army from further attacks of the Seljuks, who, however, devastated the country as far as Mount Taurus to starve the Crusaders.

447. The County of Edessa and the Principality of Antioch. — Before the main army reached Syria, Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, marched to the Euphrates and conquered the territory of Edessa from the Sultan of Aleppo. The county of Edessa became the northeastern bulwark of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The main army, in the meantime, laid siege to Antioch, which lasted from October, 1097, to June, 1098. The fighting, the hardships of the march and of the siege, want of provisions, and diseases had fearfully thinned the Christian army. Bohemund was at last enabled by the aid of a traitor within the city to scale one of the 450 fortified towers of Antioch, and to open the gates to the Crusaders. For this feat he demanded and obtained Antioch as his own principality.

Three days after the capture, Antioch was besieged by 200,000 Turks under Kerboga, Sultan of Mosul. The Crusaders became thoroughly discouraged. The wonderful discovery of the Holy Lance, with which the side of our Lord had been opened on the cross, revived all their religious enthusiasm. For three days the Crusaders prepared themselves by receiving the sacraments and by other religious exercises for the intended sally. They then marched forth in twelve divisions in honor of the twelve Apostles. Their attack was irresistible, the enemy was completely routed, and the provisions of the conquered camp relieved for a time the pressing necessities of the Christians.

448. The Conquest of Jerusalem, July 15th, 1099. — The army left Antioch in the winter season and arrived before Jerusalem June 7th, 1099, without having met serious resistance. On seeing for the first time the holy city, all the Crusaders fell on their knees and with sighs and tears of religious emotion kissed the sacred ground. On June 13th, began the regular siege of the city accompanied by the usual sufferings of heat, thirst, and want of provisions. July 15th, Godfrey of Bouillon was the third pilgrim and the first prince who sprang from a movable tower on the city walls. The gates were thrown open, and the army, exasperated by the insults which the besieged had heaped upon their religion during the siege, were carried away to commit acts of cruelty and carnage unworthy of their cause. They then put off their armor, and barefoot and clad in white garments, went in procession to the Holy Places and the church of the Sepulchre to thank God with feelings of penitence and humility for their success. The Crusaders chose their

worthiest leader, Godfrey of Bouillon, king of Jerusalem. But Godfrey refused to wear a crown of gold where Christ had worn a crown of thorns and contented himself with the title of Duke and Protector of the Holy Sepulchre.

449. Battle of Ascalon, 1100. — The approach of a Fatimite army again called Godfrey to arms. With only 5,000 knights and 15,000 foot he routed the 200,000 Saracens in the first onset near Ascalon. The city of Ascalon was conquered later. Most of the princes now left for Europe, only a small number of knights remaining with Godfrey at Jerusalem, with Bohemund at Antioch, and with Baldwin at Edessa. Godfrey of Bouillon, the real hero of the Holy Sepulchre, closed his glorious career in 1100.

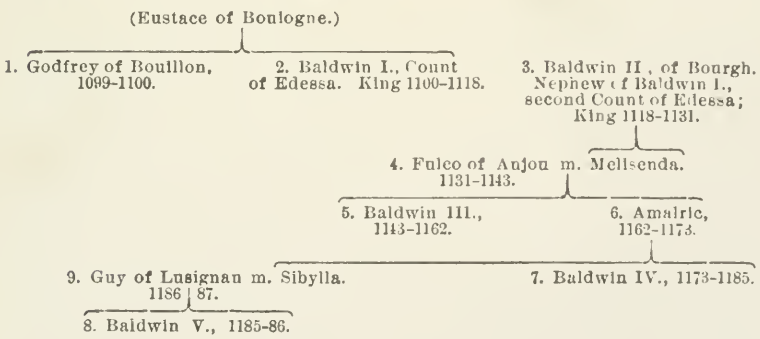
Fresh crusading armies from France, Italy, and Germany perished in and beyond Cappadocia in their rash attempt to march upon Bagdad (1101). With the remnants of this expedition Raymond of Toulouse conquered the city and county of Tripoli.

Books for Consultation the same as under § 1 and 2.

§ 4.

THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM, 1099–1187.

450. Kings of Jerusalem



451. **Organization and Constitution.** — The kingdom of Jerusalem reached its greatest power and extent under the first three successors of Godfrey of Bouillon. The cities of the entire coast-line were conquered

during the reigns of Baldwin I. and Baldwin II. The kingdom comprised the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, the county of Tiberias or Galilee, conquered by Tancred, the county of Tripoli, hereditary in the family of Raymond of Toulouse, and many smaller fiefs. Twelve lordships of which the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon was the strongest, belonged to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The great fiefs were subdivided into smaller fiefs whose owners exercised baronial rights. The constitution was an exact imitation of western feudalism. The king was chosen by the princes and crowned by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. The kingdom was governed under a code of laws, "The Letters of the Holy Sepulchre or the Assize of Jerusalem," compiled by Godfrey of Bouillon from the customs of the Crusaders. In the Court of Barons the king himself was president. Citizens were judged according to law by a court of fellow-citizens, who were chosen for their trustworthiness and wisdom, and presided over by the Viscount of Jerusalem. In a third court Syrian Christians were tried by Syrians themselves.

452. Resources. — The kings of Jerusalem were assisted by a constant stream of fresh pilgrims who during the period of their stay took part in the battles of the Crusaders. The fleets of Genoa, Pisa and Venice, assisted in the conquest of the coast cities, whilst financial aid was furnished by their rich merchants who were fast winning the eastern trade from the Greek Empire. Castles vieing with the strongest fortresses of Europe were built along the frontiers. Around them and in the cities churches and monasteries of the Latin rite grew up under the jurisdiction of the Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch.

The Knights of St. John and the Knights Templars. — Most valuable, however, were the services of the religious Orders of Knighthood. The Knights of St. John (since 1113) combined in their vocation the vows and duties of religious life, the care of the sick and the duty of war against the infidels. Pilgrims of Amalfi had founded a hospital at Jerusalem dedicated to St. John the Baptist; hence their name Hospitallers or Knights of St. John. The foundation was transformed into a military order by its Master Gerard and obtained papal confirmation in 1130. The Knights Templars were founded by nine French knights, headed by Hugh de Payens, a Burgundian noble, in 1118 or 1119, for the defense of the Holy Land, for the protection of the public roads and the safe conduct of pilgrims through dangerous regions. They derived their

name from the grant of a house near Solomon's temple. St. Bernard of Clairvaux drew up the rules of the Order which were confirmed by Honorius II. in 1128. The members of these Orders were knights, to whom the warlike operations were intrusted, priests who had the spiritual guidance of the Order, and brothers who served either in the hospitals or in the field. Their mode of life was austere and ascetic, they were monks in their houses and warriors in the field, "lions in war, lambs in the cloister." These Orders greatly assisted the kingdom both by the bravery of their members and by the military forces which they maintained at their own expense.

Archer-Kingsford: *The Crusades: The Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem — On The Latin Kgd. of Jerus.*, E. H. R. v. 4, p. 89. — Tout: *Empire and Papacy*, ch. 7, p. 167, ch. 8, p. 197, to §§ 1-4. — Michaud and the authors quoted under § 2. — Lavisse-Rambaud: *Hist. gen.; Les Croisades.* — E. Rey: *Les Colonies Franques en Syrie. — Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques dans le Royaume Latin de Jerusalem* (1099-1291). — Bertouch: *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der geistl. Genossenschaften und der daraus hervorgegangenen Ritterorden.* — A. M. Weiss: *Die Entwicklung des christlichen Ritterthums:* H. P. B. 1, p. 107. — Knoepfler: *Die Ordensregel der Tempelherren:* H. P. B., 8, 666. — *Ritterorden, Ursprung und Umwandlung:* H. P. B., v. 28, p. 597.

§ 5.

THE EMPIRE AND ITALY FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND CRUSADE.

453. Lothar the Saxon, King, 1125–37, Emperor, 1133–37. — In a brilliant assembly of princes held on both sides of the Rhine near Mainz, and in the presence of 60,000 knights, Lothar of Supplinburg, the strongest noble in Germany, was chosen Roman king. Lothar had been fighting against Henry IV. and Henry V. for the freedom of the Church and the Gregorian Reform. Frederick II., duke of Suabia, as the grandson of Henry V., expected the election, but the princes had lost confidence in the Salian family, and feared a renewal of their policy. They also wished to insist on the elective character of the kingdom.

Lothar was acknowledged by all the princes except Sobeslaw of Bohemia. Though successful in the field the Bohemian duke voluntarily submitted to Lothar after the latter had confirmed him in his dukedom.

454. Civil War. — Far more dangerous foes were the Hohenstaufen princes. The defeated candidate could not brook to see

Lothar of Supplinburg in power, especially since Lothar demanded the restoration of some crown domains in the possession of Frederic of Suabia. The Hohenstaufen party chose Frederic's brother Conrad as rival king. Finding a scanty support in Germany he went to Italy and was crowned at Milan in 1128. He failed, however, in obtaining possession of the Matildan inheritance, and, being excommunicated, saw himself reduced to a life of inactivity. In Germany Lothar, assisted by his son-in-law Henry the Proud of Bavaria, reduced many castles of the Staufen party, and captured their strongholds Nürnberg and Speyer. St. Bernard of Clairvaux brought about a final and sincere reconciliation in 1135. Lothar showed himself a generous victor, and left the Staufens in the possession of their fiefs.

455. **Lothar and Innocent II.** — The election of Innocent II. immediately after the death of Honorius II. (1129) was opposed by the aristocratic faction of the Pierleone, who by setting up one of their family, Cardinal Peter Pierleone as antipope Anaclete II., caused a new schism. Innocent II. went to France, while Anaclete maintained himself for a time in Rome. Anaclete secured the support of the Normans by giving the title of king to Roger II. of Sicily.

456. Lothar's First Italian Expedition, 1132–33. — The authority of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, gained for Innocent II. the recognition of France, England, Spain and Germany. Lothar in his first expedition to Italy, 1132–33, conducted Innocent II. to Rome and received the imperial crown in the Lateran, the Leonine city and the Vatican being still held by Anaclete. The Pope conferred on Lothar the allodial property which Matilda of Tuscany had donated to the Church, as a papal fief to be restored to the Holy See after the death of Lothar. Subsequently he extended this grant to Henry the Proud and his wife under the same condition.

457. Second Italian Expedition, 1136–37. — In 1136 Lothar undertook a second expedition to Italy, accompanied by the Staufen princes. Before his arrival, St. Bernard had peacefully reconciled many Italian cities with Innocent II. Those who still resisted were reduced to obedience by the sword of the Emperor. Assisted by the fleets of Pisa and Genoa, and by the bravery and

power of Henry the Proud, the Emperor then invaded the territories of Roger of Sicily, and subjected Italy as far as Salerno and Bari. Lothar died on his return to Germany in the Alps of Tyrol (Breitenwang).

On his death-bed he gave the crown jewels in charge of Henry the Proud, and conferred on him his own dukedom of Saxony.

Lothar was as just, pious and brave and as generous to the poor as he was powerful. He was not only a friend and patron of the Church, but a ruler who made himself respected by foreign princes as well as by the magnates of the Empire. Denmark, Bohemia and Poland swore fealty to him; Hungary and Bohemia submitted their controversies to his decision. He strengthened Christianity among the Slavonic heathens by protecting the apostolic labors of St. Otto of Bamberg, the apostle of the Pomeranians, and St. Norbert of Magdeburg. He established a king's peace in all Germany such as the country had not seen since the days of Henry III. His name was long held dear in the memory of the people.

458. Roger of Sicily and Innocent II. — After the death of Lothar, Roger reconquered his possessions and subjected all southern Italy as far as the frontiers of the papal territory. In a successful campaign against Innocent he obtained from him the investiture of Sicily, Apulia, and Capua, and the coveted title of king. Roger thus became the founder of the Norman realm in Italy, "the kingdom of the two Sicilies." * He still further extended his kingdom by conquering Malta, Tripolis, Tunis, and a large portion of the African coast line.

459. Conrad III., 1138–1152, "Waiblings and Welfs." — After Lothar's death his son-in-law Henry the Proud, the head of the Welfic House, aspired to the succession. But his vast feudal domains — Bavaria, Saxony and the Matildan inheritance — added to his hereditary possessions, made him disliked by all who feared a strong central power. Accordingly the nobles of Suabia and Franconia in the absence of the Bavarians and Saxons, chose Conrad, the former opponent of Lothar, king of the Germans. It was the first time that a Welf confronted a Waibling, as the dukes of Suabia were called, in a royal election. (See genealogy, No. 469.) This election, and the demand of Conrad, that Henry the Proud should

* When the Byzantines had been driven by the Moslem from the island of Sicily they transferred the name "Sicily" to the mainland of southern Italy. Hence the expression "the two Sicilies."

give up Saxony, led to a renewal of the civil war. Conrad, not without violating legal forms, placed Henry under the ban of the Empire, conferred Saxony on Albrecht the Bear, the grandson of duke Magnus, and soon after gave Bavaria to Leopold, margrave of Austria. Leaving the defense of Bavaria to his younger brother Welf, Henry the Proud drove Albrecht from Saxony, and was acknowledged by all the Saxons as their duke. On the point of returning to Bavaria, Henry the Proud, was carried off by a sudden attack of fever. The Saxons stood faithfully by his young son Henry the Lion, and prevented an occupation of their country by Albrecht. Less fortunate was the Welfic party in Bavaria. At Weinsberg rose for the first time the war cry: "Here for the Welf! Here for the Waibling!" which was to be repeated on so many battle fields. Welf was defeated by Conrad and his vassals, though by no means crushed; for the present he had to seek his safety in flight; Weinsberg fell into the hands of the king. (1140.)

Pacification of Frankfort, 1142. — The party name Guelph is the Italian for Welf, the family name of the dukes of Bavaria, as Ghibelline is the Italian for Waibling, derived from Waiblingen, the Hohenstaufen castle on the Remse, where Frederic Barbarossa was born. In a reconciliation at Frankfort, 1142, Henry the brother and successor of Leopold of Austria, married Gertrude, the widow of Henry the Proud, and retained Bavaria. Henry the Lion was acknowledged as duke of Saxony, and Albrecht the Bear received the margravate of Brandenburg as a fief of the crown. Welf alone protested against this arrangement.

Tout: *Germany and Italy*, 1125–1152; *Emperor and Papacy*, ch. 10, pp. 221–244. — Henderson: *Hist. of Germany in the Middle Ages.* — Bryce: *Holy Empire.* — P. Jaffé: *Gesch. des deutschen Reiches unter Lothar dem Sachsen.* — Bernardi: *Lothar von Supplinburg und Konrad III.* — Phillippson: *Gesch. Heinrich des Löwen.* — O. Heinemann: *Albrecht der Bär.* — Vacandard-Sierp: *Vie de St. Bernard* (French and German). — L. Riezler: *Gesch. Baierns* (vol. 1, -1118; vol. 2, -1508). — Mgr. Patterson: *Exiled Popes*, Cont. Rev., Aug., 1874. — Reumont: *Gesch. der Stadt Rom.*, pp. 409–435. — Gregorovius: *Hist. of the City of Rome*, Bk. VIII.; *The Twelfth Century.* — Johnson: *The Normans in Europe.* — Freeman: *The Normans in Palermo* (Essays). — Barlow: *Short History of the Normans in Southern Europe.* — *The History of Sicily*, Q. R., 92, 4.

§ 6.

THE RISE OF CAPETIAN FRANCE, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH AND ITALIAN MUNICIPALITIES.

460. France — Louis VI., 1108–1137. — Philip I. was succeeded by Louis VI. the Fat (le Gros), an able and energetic ruler,

whose reign marks a most important change in the making of France. Louis VI. was just, upright, courteous, and always engaged in warfare with the nobles. To increase the power of the crown, to curb the haughtiness of the barons, especially in the royal domains, to restrict the power of the great feudatories and to protect the poor and the weak from their high-handed violence, was the chief object of his activity. Though his numerous expeditions against the insolent lords of the Isle of France and their powerful allies, Henry, duke of Normandy and king of England, and the counts of Blois, were individually unimportant, yet in their aggregate they revolutionized the position of the king in his domains. His principal enemies were crushed. The roads between the royal towns were cleared of robber barons. The influence of the higher nobility was paralyzed by soldiers and men of affairs who owed their preferment to the king. The eminent services of Suger, the friend of St. Bernard, since 1122 abbot of St. Denis, stood ever at the disposal of the king. From St. Bernard Louis accepted both advice and rebuke. He was a protector of bishops and monks from the brutality and greed of the lay baronage. His alliance with the Papacy, by which he ardently supported Innocent II. against Anaclete and welcomed Innocent in his domains, was one element of his strength in Catholic France. Another element was his alliance with the French Communes.

The Communes were organizations of the inhabitants of cities and towns similar to the Italian municipalities. The citizens combined for the purpose of defending their rights against the encroachments of the feudal lords. The Communes forced the nobles to restrict their demands to definite claims agreed upon by both parties and carefully recorded in charters. Both the king and the bishops encouraged this movement for municipal liberty against the nobles. Thus the citizens began to secure for themselves the full enjoyment of the fruits of their labors.

Louis VI., before his death, effected the marriage of his son, Louis VII., with Eleanor, the heiress of Aquitaine.

461. Italian Municipalities. — The cities of Upper Italy had long been in a state of transition from feudal to republican forms of government. From this movement beginning about 1094 emerged a great number of Italian municipalities. They owed their origin and gradual rise: (a) to legislative grants of former Emperors,

extended sometimes by successful usurpation; (b) to feuds with secular princes and to grants of bishops who conferred part of their civil jurisdiction on the cities; (c) to the growth of commerce and wealth greatly stimulated by the Crusades; (d) to the natural advantages of a community of life, protection and independence behind strongly fortified walls; (e) to the ease with which immigrants from the country could obtain municipal freedom. Residence of one year and one day sufficed to secure the freedom of the city to new-comers. The municipalities were governed by consuls, the supreme executive officers especially in matters of war and justice, chosen by the people, assisted by a council of civil advisers, and supported by large military forces, the civic guards. The councils and other magistracies were composed of the trading and industrial classes and the higher and lower nobility living within the city or its surrounding territory. This composition was marked by the gradual ascendency of the democratic classes. The "judges" were assistant officials chosen for their proficiency in law. The "wise men" formed a sort of irregular council summoned in cases of emergency. With the growth of these city-republics came rivalries between neighboring cities, and local wars which were often waged with excessive bitterness.

462. The X. General Council, II. in the Lateran, 1139—The Roman Senate. — What to the northern cities of Milan, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, proved a source of strength, was turned into a cause of anarchy in the Roman territory through the revolutionary teachings of Arnold of Brescia. This fiery and unruly preacher passionately attacked the possession of secular power by the clergy and the ownership of land by churches and monasteries as contrary to the law of Christ. Innocent II. in 1139 summoned the X. General Council, the II. in the Lateran, which was attended by a thousand bishops. It crushed out the last remnants of the schism of Anaclete, reaffirmed the principles of the Gregorian Reform, imposed silence on Arnold of Brescia and banished him from Italy. Soon after, however, a revolution broke out at Rome in the last days of Innocent II. and led to a phantastic imitation of the ancient Roman republic, the so-called "Restitution of the Holy Senate" (1144). "The Senate and the Roman People"

usurped the temporal powers of the Holy See. Lucius II. lost his life in this rebellion. Arnold of Brescia returned to Rome, became the leader of the senate and the head of the revolt, and expelled Eugene III. the disciple of St. Bernard, from Rome. Both Arnold of Brescia on behalf of the Romans and St. Bernard on behalf of the Pope, invited Conrad to Rome; but the Staufen king remained neutral.

463. **Revival of Religious and Intellectual Life.** — At the time when the Orders of Knighthood were founded in the East, a great religious and intellectual movement took place in the West, the effect of the Gregorian Reform. St. Bruno of Koeln (d. 1101), the teacher of Urban II., founded the Carthusian Order which united the conventual and eremitic life. For the Carthusians had a common church and charterhouse, but the clerks lived in separate cells a life of meditation, study and silence, whilst the brothers practiced agriculture. Gradually charterhouses grew up all over Europe and many of them became centers of philosophical and theological learning. — St. Norbert of Xanten called into life the Praemonstratensian Congregation of Canons Regular, which derived its name from the first foundation at Prémontré near Laon. The importance of this foundation consisted in its uniting the sanctity of monastic life with the pastoral work of the secular clergy. St. Norbert, chosen Archbishop of Magdeburg in 1125, became the chief adviser of Emperor Lothar. — But, foremost in influence among the new Orders stood the Cistercians, founded at Citeaux by a monk named Robert. The wonderful sanctity of a young Burgundian nobleman, Bernard of Fontaines, who with thirty of his kinsmen applied for admission in 1113, gave in a few years a European reputation to the Order of Citeaux. Branching off from the motherhouse, St. Bernard founded the abbey of Clairvaux, 1115, and became its first abbot. In 1119 Calixt II. approved the famous "Charter of Charity," which carried the self-renunciation of the Cistercians, the obligation of agricultural labor, and the strictness of an almost perpetual visitation even beyond the austerity of the original Benedictine rule. Under this charter hundreds of monasteries were founded throughout Christendom. The lasting civilization of the Slavonic tribes between Poland, Bohemia and Germany proper is chiefly due to the Premonstratensians and Cistercians, whose piety, self-denial and indefatigable work in their wild forests won the admiration and confidence of the inhabitants. The influence of St. Bernard grew from year to year, and became almost unique in the history of Catholicism. "His activity took in the whole of Christendom. His correspondence was enormous, his works numerous and varied, and his authority hardly questioned. The rulers of Church and State flocked to the rude huts of Clairvaux as to an oracle. It shows that the days of brute forces were over, when a simple

monk whose singleness of purpose and zeal for righteousness was never so much as questioned, could rule with such astounding power over the minds of men." The great learning displayed by older institutions such as Reichenau and St. Gallen, Cluny and Bec, the cathedral schools of Paris, Rheims and Chartres, and by the new monastic seats of learning, the beginning of the universities such as the great law university of Bologna, the rise of Scholasticism through the writings of St. Anselm, inaugurated a period of intense intellectual activity which widened and deepened for the next two centuries.

Suger: *Vita Ludovici VI.* (transl. by Guizot). — A. Luchaire: *Louis VI.* — Tout: *Beginnings of Capetian Greatness:* Empire, etc., ch. 12, pp. 275-83; *The Monastic Movement and the 12th Century Renascence*, ibid., ch. 9, pp. 198-220. — G. Burton Adams: *The Growth of the French Nation.* — Thompson: *The Development of the French Monarchy under Louis VI. le Gros.* — *General Histories of France* by Guizot, Daniel, Kitchen, Crowe, etc. — Ou X. General Council: R. Parsons: *Studies*, v. II., p. 268. — B. Jungmann: v. 5, Dissert. 23, p. 67. — Hefele: v. V., pp. 389-492; Church Histories. — *Lives of St. Bernard of Clairvaux:* Vacandard-Sierp (classical); Dr. G. Hüffer (*Der heil. Bernhard of Clairvaux*); Morison; Mgr. B. O'Reilly: A. C. Q., v. 15, p. 529. — W. K. Williams: *The Communes of Lombardy.* — Causette-Burder: (*St. Bernard and His Work*). — T. B. Parkinson: *Public Liberties in the Middle Ages:* M. '76, 1, pp. 217, 261. — Luchaire: *Les Communes Françaises à l'epoque des Capétiens:* also E. H. R., v. 6, p. 375. — Edmond Demolins: *Le Morement Communal et Municipal au Moyen Age.* — Heinemann: *Zur Entstehung der Stadtverfassung in Italien.* — Hegel: *Gesch. der Staedteverfassung in Italien.* — Card. Newman: *Universities: Hist. Sketches.* — Kobler, S. J.: *Hadrian über die Klöster des Mittelalters.* — H. Rashdall: *The Origins of the University of Paris.* — Clerval: *Les Ecoles de Chartres au Moyen Age.* — T. R. Maitland: *The Dark Ages.* — Poole: *Illustrations of the Hist. of Mediaeval Thought.* — Allaire: *English Scholars at Bologna in the Middle Ages*, D. R. '93, 1, p. 66. — Card. Newman: *Lives of English Saints.*

§ 7.

THE SECOND CRUSADE, 1147–1149.

464. Early Reign of Louis VII., the Young, 1137 1147, and Causes of the Second Crusade. — Louis VII., a pious, honest, simple and beneficent prince, continued the work of his father, though with diminished success. He spent the first ten years of his reign in feudal warfare, chiefly in southern France where he had his hands full to subdue the barons of the newly acquired possessions of his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. He received his first impulse to undertake a Crusade in a conflict with the powerful Theobald of Champagne. During the campaign the town of Vitry was stormed by the king and in the tumult a church set on fire in which over a thousand men, women and children are said to have perished. The king was so terribly shocked by this carnage and sacrilege, that he made peace and resolved to take the cross in expiation of a crime of which he was personally innocent. Eugene III., the successor of Innocent II., received the offer with joy, for

the first great disaster had overtaken the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. A new Turkish power was in course of formation since 1127, when Emadeddin Zenki became governor of Mosul, gradually destroyed all the rival Mohammedan Sultanates in northern Syria and Mesopotamia, and finally conquered Edessa and put the Christian garrison to the sword, 1144. His son and successor, Nureddin, still further extended the domain of Mosul and captured Damascus. Eugene III. appointed St. Bernard of Clairvaux, his former superior, to preach a new Crusade. At Vezelai his fervor rekindled the enthusiasm of Clermont; the king, queen Eleanor and a vast number of all ranks took the cross. From France, Bernard proceeded to Germany, everywhere followed by an immense concourse of people. His progress along the Rhine was marked by a series of miracles as fully attested as any other historical fact. On Christmas day, 1146, in the Cathedral of Speyer his inspired eloquence overcame the hesitation of Conrad III. Both the king and his nephew, Frederic Barbarossa, took the cross. Young Henry, Conrad's elder son, was crowned and nominally placed at the head of a regency, whilst in France abbot Suger administered the affairs of the kingdom during the king's absence. The number of armed pilgrims was estimated at 900,000.

465. Defeat of the German Division. — The crusading armies, the Germans in the van, took their way through Hungary, Bulgaria and over Constantinople. Thence Conrad passed through the country of the Sultans of Nice and Iconium, but was terribly harassed by want of provisions and constant attacks of the light-armed Turkish horsemen. With only a tenth of his original army he had to save himself to Nice. Here he joined the French expedition which had meanwhile arrived, and accompanied Louis VII. along the coast to Ephesus, whence he left for Constantinople on account of ill-health.

466. Defeat of the French Division. — The French pressed forward to the banks of the Meander where they won the only victory of this Crusade. In the mountain defiles of the Meander the Crusaders were surrounded by swarms of Moslem and driven back to the coast. The survivors reached Attalia. The king and the richer knights purchased for enormous sums a passage in Greek vessels to Antioch, while most of the remaining pilgrims succumbed to the pestilence, the treachery of the Greeks or the sword of the Turks. The two kings meanwhile with a few detachments of the

scattered armies met at Jerusalem. The reconquest of Edessa was given up under existing circumstances, and the siege of Damascus failed through the ignoble rivalries of the barons of Palestine. Without honor or success the kings returned to their homes.

467. **Causes of the Failure** — The failure of the second Crusade is explained by the want of unity in leadership and plan, the excessive number of infantry unable to cope with the flying swarms of horsemen, the presence of high born ladies in queen Eleanor's train, dissensions among resident and pilgrim knights, the double-dealing and Byzantine treachery of Manuel Comnenus who was in secret understanding with the enemy, and the usual hardships of climate, lack of provisions and disease. Otto of Freising, himself a Crusader, and other contemporary writers, considered the failure a punishment for the sins of the Crusaders. "The Latins had forsaken God and God forsook them," wrote William of Tyre. St. Bernard, who was made the butt of the fiercest accusations, referred to the authority of the Pope by whose commission he had preached the Crusade, to his miracles which had evidently given a divine sanction to his work, to the Israelites who had perished in the desert because of their misconduct, and maintained that the Crusaders had none to blame but themselves for the disastrous issue of the expedition.

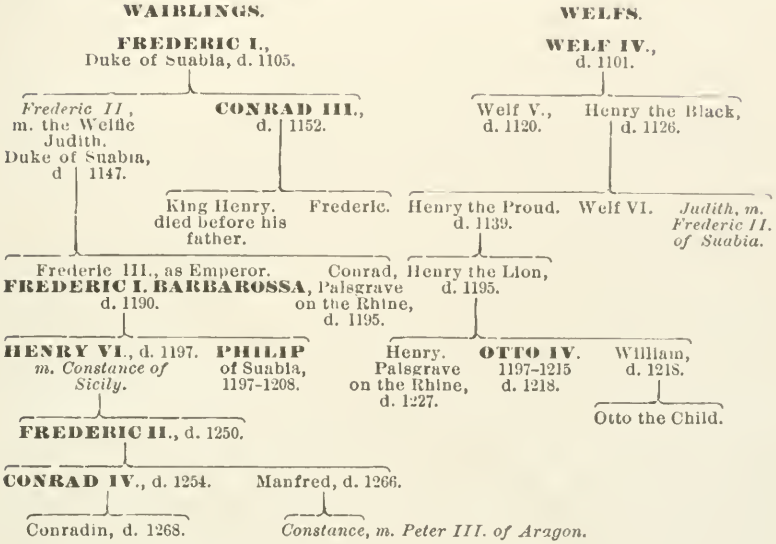
468. **Last Days of Conrad III.** — After his return from Jerusalem, Conrad III. never obtained real power in Germany; controversies without settlements, feuds without victories, filled the last years of his reign. Henry the Lion exercised a power in Saxony and among the tributary Wends almost as great and independent as that of Lothar before him. King Henry died before his father, and Frederic, Conrad's second son, being too young, the dying king placed the insignia of the realm into the hands of his nephew, Frederic Barbarossa.

See Works under § 2. — *Summons of Pope Eugene III. to the Second Crusade:* Henderson: Sel. Hist. Docs. — Tout: *Empire*, etc., ch. 8, p. 191; ch. 12, p. 282. — Emerton: *Mediæval Europe*, ch. 9; *The Crusades*, 357–398; *Second Crusade*, p. 374. — Alzog-Byrne: vol. II., p. 543. — Hergenroether: K. G.: I., p. 89. — Causette-Burder: *St. Bernard and His Work.* — Vacandard: *St. Bernard.* — Dr. Hüffer: *Die Wunder des H. Bernard and ihre Kritiker:* H. J. B., v. 10, pp. 23, 748; *Die Anfänge des Zweiten Kreuzzuges:* H. P. B., v. 8, p. 391.

§ 8.

FREDERIC I. BARBAROSSA, AND ADRIAN IV.

469. The Guelfs and the Ghibellines.



470. Frederic I. Barbarossa, 1152 1190. — Frederic I., better known by his Italian surname Barbarossa, Redbeard, was almost unanimously chosen king of the Germans after Conrad's death. The survivors of the second Crusade owed their safe return to his courage and resourcefulness. He became the greatest and most powerful of the Hohenstaufen rulers. On his father's side a Waibling, on his mother's a Welf, he was just and impartial to both Houses, and conferred on his personal friend, Henry the Lion, in addition to Saxony, the dukedom of Bavaria. As the Church had been the ideal of Gregory VII., the Holy Empire was the ideal of Barbarossa. It was, however, his misfortune, that his closest advisers, educated in the law school of Bologna, instilled into his mind the idea of a State which resembled the despotism of the Byzantine Empire rather than the ideal of St. Leo III. and Charles the Great. Frederic I. looked upon the Empire as a universal monarchy in which the absolute powers of the old Roman Emperors were granted to him immediately by God alone. He was willing enough to undertake the protection of the Church, provided that the Pope,

the prelates and the entire clergy would acknowledge his lordship over the Church and model their administration according to the dictates of his supreme will. As to his personal character, he is described by Wibald of Stablo, the prudent adviser of three successive kings, as high-minded, prompt in resolution, a brilliant soldier, proud and ambitious, impatient of all opposition, but affable and liberal, and splendidly eloquent in his native tongue. Such a character imbued with such principles, if once arrayed against the rights of the Church, was bound to prove a far more dangerous foe then the wretched Henry IV.

471. First Expedition to Italy, 1154–55. — Frederic's authority was unquestioned in Germany; not so in Italy. Lodi, Como, and other cities appealed to Frederic against the oppressions practiced by Milan. But the city government of Milan treated the king's remonstrance with contempt. Eugene III., too, sorely troubled by Arnold of Brescia and the republican senate, invited him to Italy. Frederic accompanied by Henry the Lion, and the palsgrave Otto of Wittelsbach crossed the Alps at the head of a small army of knights. Unable to cope with the powerful city of Milan, he destroyed Tortona, rudely punished a few other cities allied with Milan, received the homage of the rest, and proceeding to Pavia was crowned with the Iron Crown of Italy. On his march to Rome Arnold of Brescia fell into his hands. When he arrived in Rome, Eugene III. was no more; Adrian IV., the only English Pope (Nicholas Breakspear), occupied the See of St. Peter. The son of an English serf, in his youth a wandering scholar, he had been successively superior of a house of Canon Regulars in France, Cardinal Archbishop of Albano, papal legate to Scandinavia and founder of the Archbishopric of Trondheim, and was elected to the Papacy in 1154. Both Adrian IV. and his chancellor, Cardinal Roland, were men of sterling character, sound virtue and learning, and unflinching upholders of the principles of Gregory VII. By Adrian Frederic was crowned Emperor. On the evening of the coronation day the Roman republicans attacked the Pope and the Emperor in the Leonine city, but suffered a bloody defeat. Arnold of Brescia, who was considered the author of the rebellion, was executed by the prefect of Rome. The Emperor soon after returned to Germany, and Adrian sought at Benevento a safer sojourn than his turbulent capital offered him.

472. Frederic's Policy at Home. — During the Emperor's absence feudal disturbances had broken out in Germany; Henry of Austria especially resented the loss of Bavaria. To pacify him, Frederic enlarged his margravate in territory and raised it to an independent dukedom hereditary in the male *and* female line. He then established a general peace of the land, inflicting the severest punishments on the breakers of public tranquillity, and the vassals engaged in feudal warfare. In 1156 he married Beatrice, the heiress of the county of Burgundy. He conciliated duke Wratislaw of Bohemia by granting him the royal crown. By a successful invasion of Poland he secured the feudal obedience of king Boleslaw IV. Swegen of Denmark owned himself his vassal. Henry II. of England recognized in general terms his imperial dignity. The early glory of Frederic Barbarossa culminated in the diet of Besançon within the newly acquired territory of his wife, where ambassadors of almost every European country sounded the praises of the great Emperor.

473. Frederic's Conflict with Adrian IV. — In the same diet the first conflict of the Emperor with the Papacy broke out. His pretensions in Church affairs had kept pace with his growing imperial authority. He had violated the Concordat of Worms in the appointment of an Archbishop of Magdeburg, had remanded excommunications of notorious church robbers to the jurisdiction of secular courts, restricted journeys and appeals to Rome, and connived at the spoliation and imprisonment in his Burgundian territory of the papal legate Eskyll, Archbishop of Lund and Metropolitan of Denmark. His chancellor, abbot Wibald, had heretofore succeeded in restraining Frederic from an open breach with the Church. But the crafty and ambitious Rainald of Dassel, who in 1156 succeeded in the chancellorship, gained the full confidence of the Emperor, and in union with Otto of Wittelsbach, poisoned his mind against Adrian IV.

Two events increased the strain between the Pope and the Emperor. Adrian in his own good right had concluded a treaty of peace with William I. of Sicily, by which he absolved the Norman from the excommunication incurred for former aggressions, and as his liege-lord, reinvested him with Sicily, Apulia, and Capua. This arrangement crossed the design of Frederic I. to join the crown of Sicily to the imperial crown. Again, a letter to the Emperor, in which Pope Adrian remonstrated against the spoliation and imprisonment of the Archbishop of Lund by German troopers, contained the phrase: "I would rejoice to confer on thee benefits (beneficia) still greater than the imperial crown, if it were possible." Rainald of Dassel mistranslated the word "benefits" into *fiefs* as if the Pope considered the imperial crown a fief of the Holy See. The letter

thus misinterpreted roused the anger of the princes assembled at Besançon. When Cardinal Roland naturally asked: "From whom, then, if not from our Lord the Pope, does your king hold the imperial dignity?" — Frederic's answer: "From God alone by the choice of the princes," formally denied the historical origin of the imperial dignity. Though Adrian in a dignified letter explained his true meaning and averted an open breach, it was with feelings of distrust and resentment shared by his nobles and bishops, that Frederic undertook his second expedition to Italy.

474. Second Expedition to Italy, 1158-62 — Roncalian Diet — Destruction of Milan. — Frederic's first object was to humble Milan. The city was put under the ban of the Empire, besieged and forced to submit. The Emperor then held the famous Diet on the Field of Roncalia, whither the Emperors usually summoned their Italian vassals, 1158.

The principles proclaimed at Roncalia were those of the Justinian Law: imperial absolutism as taught by the jurists of Bologna. The Emperor was declared to be the Lord of the World, the sole fountain of legislation, "the living law on earth," the embodiment of right and justice, "Do and ordain whatsoever thou wilt," the Archbishop of Milan addressed him, "thy will is law." The decrees of Roncalia aimed at a new subjugation of the Church, and the complete destruction of the Italian municipalities which had just begun a period of vigorous life and self-government. These communes were henceforth to be governed by imperial officers with dictatorial powers, called podestàs. The city of Rome and the sovereign rights of the Holy See, the immunities of the Lombard cities, the property of Matilda, all the episcopal palaces of northern and central Italy, were claimed by Frederic as his own. And he was not slow in carrying his claims into effect. By his own authority he conferred the Matildan property on the Welfic duke. In open contradiction with the Concordat of Worms, he appointed Rainald of Dassal Archbishop of Koeln, and a Roman subdeacon Archbishop of Ravenna. Adrian IV., no longer safe in Rome, retired to Anagni, where he died in September, 1159. In northern Italy the imperial claims were bitterly opposed. Genoa alone submitted peacefully. Milan and other cities again rose. Crema, after a long siege, was leveled with

the ground amidst scenes of revolting barbarity. Milan was starved by a two years' siege into unconditional surrender; the Carroccio, the field sign of Milan bearing the image of St. Ambrose, was lowered before the Emperor, and the greatest part of the city destroyed; the people had to settle in four open places. Terror subdued the rest of the Lombard cities.

Raumer: *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen.* — Giesebrecht: *Kaiserzeit.* — Henderson: *Sel. Hist. Docs.: Adrian IV., to Barbarossa; Barbarossa's Manifesto; Adrian IV., to the German Bishops; Adrian's Second Letter to Barbarossa.* — B. Jungmann: *De dissidiis inter Fredericum I., Imperatorem et Romanos Pontifices:* Dissert. 24, pp. 102–155. — Hergenroether: *Cath. Church and Christian State:* Essay 9, pp. 9–13; K. G. I., pp. 779–791. — Alzog-Byrne: *Universal Church Hist.*, v. II, pp. 547–569. — Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte*, v. 5, pp. 533–566. — Bryce: *Holy Roman Empire.* — Tout: *Empire and Papacy*, ch. *XI., Fred Barb. and Alex. III.*, pp. 221–242. — Henderson: *Hist. of Germany in the M. A.* — Emerton: *Medieval Europe*, ch. 9, pp. 270–313. — Reumont: Rom., v. II., pp. 427–459. — Gregorovius: *Hist. of the City of Rome:* Bk. VIII., *Twelfth Century.* — Doellinger: *The Relation of Rome to Germany in the M. A. Studies*, p. 58. — Paul Fournier: *Le Royaume d'Arles et de Vienne* (1138–1378). — Coxe: *Hist. of the House of Austria.*

§ 9.

ALEXANDER III. AND FREDERIC BARBAROSSA.

475. The Schism, 1159–1177. — After the death of Adrian IV. twenty-three Cardinals elected the chancellor Roland, who assumed the name of Alexander III. Two Cardinals of the imperial party, with the help of a military mob, set up an antipope in the person of their colleague Cardinal Octavian, the so-called Victor IV. The antipope supported Frederic's Sicilian policy, and had his only support in the Emperor and his party. But in order to feign some show of impartiality, Frederic summoned an "ecumenical" synod to Pavia to discuss the election, to which *Victor IV.* was invited and *Cardinal Roland* ordered to repair. Octavian joyfully accepted the invitation. But Alexander III. in a dignified allocution rejected the imperial fiction of a doubtful election, the imperial right of summoning a synod, and the competency of his packed tribunal as only Germany and northern Italy were represented in the synod by about fifty prelates. Partisan spirit, the arts of Rainald of Dassel and the Emperor's will, speedily led to the recognition of Victor IV. The synodal letter addressed to all the faithful swelled the fifty prelates present into 150 bishops

and innumerable abbots and dignitaries of many kingdoms. As a matter of fact neither the synod of Pavia nor the meeting of Frederic Barbarossa with Louis VII. on the frontiers of Burgundy, nor the diplomatic tricks of Rainald of Dassel gained any new adherents for Cardinal Octavian. Germany and northern Italy remained divided in their obedience. In Germany the whole Cistercian and Carthusian Orders, most of the monasteries and many of the clergy were on the side of the lawful Pope. A great synod at Toulouse, representing Italy, France, England, Spain, Ireland and Norway, solemnly recognized the legitimacy of Alexander III., 1160. Alexander resided chiefly at Anagni, whilst the imperial troops harassed the Patrimony. After the fall of Milan in 1162 he withdrew to France, where he was received by Louis VII. with the greatest honors. In the synod of Tours, 1163, he excommunicated the antipope and his supporters.

To what dangerous point Byzantinism advanced under Frederic I. and Rainald of Dassel, is best seen in the negotiations which they carried on with foreign princes. They declared the rejection of Victor IV. an infringement of imperial rights. Rome being the *first city of the Empire,* it concerned the Emperor alone to appoint or confirm the *bishop of his capital.* It would be as unwarranted a presumption on the part of the *provinces of the Empire* (France and England) to claim the right of declaring who should be considered the *bishop of Rome,* as if the Emperor would interfere in some episcopal dispute in France or England.

476. Third Visit to Italy, 1163. — The tyrannical administration of the podestàs appointed at Roncalia to govern the Italian cities, caused widespread dissatisfaction. In a third visit to Italy without an army Frederic endeavored to remedy the evil; he changed the persons, but not the system of oppression. Unable to punish the northern cities which had formed the League of Verona, and had expelled the podestàs, he returned to Germany to prepare for an armed invasion.

477. Frederic Barbarossa and Paschal III. — Victor IV., Frederic's first antipope, died in 1164. Whilst the Emperor was wavering between peace with Alexander III. and a new antipope, the audacious promptness of Rainald of Dassal put an end to his hesitation. Two days after the death of Victor IV., he contrived the election of a new antipope, Paschal III., chosen by the vote of

one Cardinal. In 1165 the Emperor summoned a diet to Würzburg, and bound himself by oath never to acknowledge Alexander III. or his successors, but to remain loyal forever to Paschal III. or his successors. The same oath had to be taken by all the princes and bishops on the spot, and within six weeks by all the vassals, subjects and freemen of the land under the penalty of forfeiture of fief or freehold — and, in the case of simple freemen, of mutilation and exile from the realm. The expulsion of the two Conrads, the Archbishops of Mainz and Salzburg, the intrusion of the dissolute soldier-bishop Christian into the primatial See of Germany, and the terrible devastation of the Archdiocese of Salzburg sufficiently showed how much the Emperor was in earnest. But in the same year Alexander III., who had heretofore governed the Church with great wisdom and energy from his asylum in France, took peaceful possession of Rome, 1165.

To win over the people to the schism, Rainald of Dassal, as (schismatical) Archbishop of Koeln, acting under the authority of the antipope, and in the presence of the Emperor, canonized Charles the Great in the Cathedral of Aachen.

478. Fourth Expedition to Italy, 1166-68. — Frederic again crossed the Alps in 1166, this time with the avowed purpose to possess himself of the person of Alexander III. living or dead, and to conquer the kingdom of Sicily. In Lombardy he forced the Italian vassals who cared to appear before him to renounce their allegiance to Alexander III. While the Emperor took Ancona, his Archbishops, Rainald of Koeln and Christian of Mainz, gained with a small army a great victory near Tusculum over the Romans, and cleared the way to Rome. Alexander III. escaped to Benevento, where he excommunicated Frederic Barbarossa, deprived him of his Empire and kingdom, and absolved his subjects from the oath of allegiance. Frederic meanwhile joining his partisans took the Leonine City. In the Church of St. Peter, desecrated by blood and destruction, took place the mock-consecration of Paschal. On August 1, Beatrice, the wife of Frederic Barbarossa, was crowned by the antipope; on August 2, a terrible pestilence broke out in the army of the Emperor, which swept away the majority of the princes, bishops, and nobles, among them Frederic of Suabia and Rainald of Dassal,

besides 20,000 of the best troops. The Emperor and the antipope fled from Rome. Sixteen cities of northern Italy formed the Lombard League; Welfs and Ghibellines joined hands against Frederic Barbarossa; Milan rising from her ruins, soon stood at the head of the cities. William II., king of Sicily, made common cause with the northern cities against the Emperor. Alexander III. became the acknowledged protector and adviser of the Lombard League. A new city, Alessandria, named in his honor and subjected to him, harbored in its first year beneath its roofs of straw 15,000 armed defenders. Frederic escaped in disguise and with difficulty across the Alps, leaving Italy behind him in victorious insurrection.

479. **Frederic at Home, 1168–1174** — In Germany the Emperor put an end to a great feud which was raging between Henry the Lion and his enemies, and made preparations for a new expedition to Italy. Many princes and bishops were either open or secret adherents of Alexander III., who, on his part, repeatedly endeavored by friendly embassies to facilitate the return of Frederic to the unity of the Church. The so-called Paschal III. died in 1168. As the schismatical party had no Cardinal left, they chose the bishop of Tusculum, and called him Calixt III. Nobody cared for the third antipope of the Emperor, except those ecclesiastics who were sure to lose their positions in case of a reunion. In Italy the supremacy of the Lombard League was undisputed during the six years of the Emperor's absence.

480. Fifth Expedition to Italy, 1174–77. — Barbarossa arrived in Lombardy, 1174, burnt Susa, took Asti, and then besieged Alessandria, "the city of straw," as the Imperialists called it in derision. The heroic defense of the city, and the approach of an army of the League forced the Emperor to retreat after an inglorious siege of six months. Negotiations of peace between Frederic and the twenty-four cities which now composed the League, failed, because Frederic refused to recognize Alexander III. Barbarossa in great straits appealed for aid to Henry the Lion. The army of the Emperor was weak because the princes disapproved of the war. It was a great blow to the authority of Barbarossa, that Henry the Lion, the most powerful prince of Germany, refused to furnish his contingent for the Italian war. Reinforced by some new arrivals from Germany, the Emperor met the army of the League at Legnano, and suffered a disastrous rout, in which he saved with difficulty his own life. The battle was considered the second judgment of God in

favor of Alexander III. This series of disasters humbled the proud ruler, and inclined him to peace. He canceled the oath of Würzburg, and sent embassadors to Anagni with full power to treat with Alexander III. The final negotiations were considerably protracted by the Emperor's attempts to separate the cause of Alexander from that of his allies, the Lombard cities and Sicily. But Alexander refused to betray his allies. The negotiations were completed at Venice, 1177.

481. Peace of Venice, 1177. — At Venice, Frederic I. after being absolved from excommunication met Alexander III. under the portals of St. Mark's. The Emperor, according to custom, kissed the feet of the great Pontiff, whom for eighteen years he had persecuted, and the Pope with tears of joy raised him up and gave him the kiss of peace. The chief terms of the Peace of Venice were: The imperial House acknowledges Alexander III. as the lawful successor of St. Peter, guarantees the regalia of the Holy See, the restitution of all church property alienated during the conflict, and the restoration of all the ecclesiastics who were expelled for their loyalty to Alexander III. The Pope promises true peace to the Emperor, the imperial House, and his vassals, and grants to the Emperor the revenues of the Matildan property for fifteen years. The Emperor grants a truce of six years to the Lombard League and a peace of fifteen years to Sicily. Minor differences were to be settled by arbitration. Alexander III. exhibited great leniency towards the schismatics. He appointed Calixt III., who submitted soon after the Peace of Venice, governor of Benevento. The other schismatics were allowed to retain the positions which they had held before the schism. The Emperor seeing the Pope demanded nothing for himself, conceived a great veneration for him and kept the promised peace to the end.

482. III. Lateran Council, 1179. — The Peace of Venice was solemnly confirmed in the XI. General Council (III. in the Lateran), in which bishops and representatives of all the Catholic nations were present. The Council passed the important and salutary decree, which henceforth made a two-thirds' majority of Cardinals present in the conclave necessary for a papal election.

483. Peace of Constance, 1183. — The truce with the Lombards was changed into the definite Peace of Constance, 1183. The cities acknowledged the over-lordship of the Emperor, his rights to confirm the consuls elected by the citizens, to receive appeals from the cities and to raise a contribution for his military expenses. In all other regards the Lombard cities were recognized as self-governing communities, authorized to continue, increase or modify their leagues, to build fortifications, to levy troops, coin money and to exercise independent jurisdiction in civil, military and judicial affairs. The Peace annulled Frederic's regal claims asserted on the Field of Roncalia.

484. **Barbarossa at the Summit of his Power in Germany.** — Whilst Frederic was fighting in Italy, the Welfic power of Henry the Lion had grown to extraordinary dimensions. In 1168 he married Matilda, the daughter of Henry II., of England. Using Saxony as the basis of his operations, he conquered in alliance with Waldemar II., the Slavonic and still half heathen lands between the Elbe, the Oder and the Baltic, secured their final conversion through the missionary zeal of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians, founded Lübeck, the first German town on the Baltic, the city of Munich in Bavaria, the bishoprics of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and magnificent churches in Brunswick, which he enriched with relics obtained in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The strong hand with which he ruled his duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, made him many enemies, and numerous were the feuds he had with the barons and bishops who owed allegiance to him. The Emperor, returning from Italy, and still smarting under the refusal of the duke to aid him against the Lombards, gave a willing ear to the accusers of Henry the Lion. When the latter had four times neglected to heed the summons of the Emperor from whom he expected but scanty justice, he was placed under the ban of the Empire and deprived of his dukedoms. After two years of unsuccessful resistance the humbled Lion threw himself at the feet of the Emperor, and was allowed to retain his allodial possessions of Brunswick and Lüneburg, but was banished from the Empire for seven years, a term which was shortened to three years by the intercession of the Pope and Henry II. of England, at whose court he spent the time of his exile. Henry the Lion became the ancestor of the Welfic House now ruling in England. Saxony was divided. The western portion, Westphalia, went to the Archbishopric of Koeln. The eastern portion with the ducal title went to Bernard of Askania, the son of Albrecht the Bear, under condition that its fiefs should hold immediately of the crown. Bavaria was given to Otto of Wittelsbach, whose descendants still rule the country. The breaking up of the last national dukedoms, the union of numerous fiefs with the crown, the advance of the cities in wealth, commerce, self-government and a political

position equivalent to that of bishops and barons, greatly increased the royal power and contributed to the prosperity which marked the domestic rule of Frederic Barbarossa.

485. Frederic's Sixth Visit to Italy, 1184–86. — Frederic paid a last peaceful visit to Italy in 1184. Having ceded much of his power to the northern city-republics in the Peace of Constance, he was all the more desirous to obtain the southern kingdom of the two Sicilies for the German crown. The opportunity was favorable, as Sicily was to pass into the hands of a female heiress. Accordingly he took the fatal step which in the end led to the overthrow of the Hohenstaufen, the Norman marriage of his son and successor Henry with Constance, the daughter of king Roger I. This union, which took place in reconciled Milan, 1186, created a dangerous position for the Popes, as they were now hemmed in by the Hohenstaufen both north and south. Besides, after the death of Alexander III., new encroachments of the Emperor upon the freedom of ecclesiastical elections endangered for a time the peace between the Church and the Empire. Before, however, the conflict had become critical, Europe was startled by the news of the fall of Jerusalem. The aged Emperor, with a view, no doubt, of atoning for the errors of his past life, resolved to crown his eventful career by a Crusade to the Holy Land.

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§ 10.

STEPHEN OF BLOIS AND HENRY OF ANJOU IN ENGLAND.

486. Accession of Stephen of Blois, 1135–1154. — After the death of Henry in Normandy, 1135, the lawful descendants of William the Conqueror were the Empress Matilda, now the wife of Geoffrey of Anjou, and their two

infant sons, and three sons of Adela, countess of Blois, the daughter of the Conqueror. Of these, Stephen of Blois, educated at the English court, and popular for his genial ways, was chosen king, chiefly by the citizens of London and Winchester, and crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The original settlement of the succession in favor of his daughter had been either recalled by Henry I. himself, as it was rumored, or it was ignored by the citizens. In the Charter of Oxford Stephen promised good government to the Church, the nobles and the people. After his acknowledgment by Innocent II. he received from the bishops the oath of fealty. He was personally a far better character than Henry I., but his lack of energy and his fickleness of purpose unfitted him to check the turbulence of the barons, who threw off all restraint as soon as the strong hand of Henry Beauclerk was removed. They built new castles, hired mercenaries, defied royal authority, and engaged in private wars and robberies. The process of dissolution was helped by two Scottish invasions.

487. Scotland and England. — At the death of king Eadgar, the eldest son of Malcolm and Margaret, the kingdom of Scotland was divided between his two brothers. Alexander (1107–1124) ruled as king north of the Forth and the Clyde, and David as earl in Cumbria and Lothian. The former, a "lettered and godly man of large heart, zealous in building churches, open-handed to all comers, and devoted to the poor," died without issue. David, who succeeded (1124–1153), continued the civilizing work of his brother, restored the see of Glascow, founded new bishoprics, and endowed a great number of abbeys, among them the renowned abbey of Holyrood (Holy Cross Abbey). As he had received an English education, he introduced and encouraged feudalism and other Norman institutions, while the old Celtic element retired into the background. In the English crown dispute David espoused the cause of his niece, the Empress Matilda, and invaded northern England in 1136 and 1138. The second invasion proved disastrous to the Scottish arms; at the battle of North Allerton, known as the battle of the Standard, the numerous but undisciplined forces of David were routed with great slaughter by the men of Northumberland. The battle took its name from a high standard mounted on wheels, bearing banners of the Saxon Saints and surmounted by a silver pyx, containing a consecrated Host. To secure David's neutrality, Stephen granted to his son, prince Henry, Cumberland, Huntingdon, and a great part of Northumberland as English fiefs.

488. Matilda in England. — Stephen committed an act of singular imprudence by arresting Roger of Salisbury, the justiciar of Henry I., and his nephew, the bishop of Lincoln, on the suspicion of their siding with Matilda. Even Henry, bishop of Winchester, the king's own brother, declared against him. At this critical juncture the Empress Matilda landed in England with the result that in a short time the country was practically divided into three parts. The West obeyed Matilda who had her most powerful support in her half-brother Robert, earl of Gloucester; the East obeyed Stephen, and the North, David, king of Scotland, 1139.

With her coming a reign of anarchy and desolation broke out. Every castle — and there were more than 1,100 built in Stephen's time — became a center of oppression. The mercenaries, Welsh, Bretons and Flemings, engaged on both sides, vied with each other in slaying, harassing, ravaging fields and burning towns and villages. No high road was safe, no property sacred, even churches and church yards were no longer spared. People were put into prisons for their gold and silver and tortured with unutterable cruelties, or starved by the thousands, so that men said openly, that "Christ and His Saints were asleep."

489. Civil War. — In the battle of Lincoln, 1141, Stephen became the prisoner of Robert, earl of Gloucester, whereupon Matilda was acknowledged as "Lady of England" by all the land except Kent. The haughtiness of the Lady caused a rising, which compelled her to change her residence from London to Winchester, and from Winchester to Oxford. Earl Robert in his turn was captured and exchanged for king Stephen. With varying fortune the civil war continued, sometimes interrupted by periods of exhaustion, until the capture of Lincoln by Stephen (1146), the death of Robert of Gloucester and the departure of the Empress to France (1147) left the party of Matilda without an ostensible head, and Stephen in the sole enjoyment of what power he might be able to wield in a country which had so long been distracted by the barons.

490. Henry of Anjou and Stephen. — Whilst the Empress was losing ground in England, her husband Geoffrey of Anjou, also called Plantagenet from the bit of broomplant (planta genista) which he used to wear in his helmet, conquered Normandy, and received the investiture of the duchy in his own right from Louis VII. of

France. In 1149 Geoffrey and Matilda handed over Normandy to their son Henry, surnamed Fitz-Empress (fitz=fils — son of the Empress). When Geoffrey died in 1151, Henry became the sole lord of Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Touraine. The next year brought him a new and far greater increase of territory. Louis VII. upon the advice of St. Bernard and with the sanction of the Church had been divorced in 1151 from Eleanor of Aquitaine on the ground of consanguinity. The fierce and passionate woman took her revenge by offering her hand to Henry of Anjou. Henry felt no scruples in accepting an offer which brought him seven provinces of Aquitaine, the fairest portion of France, situated between the Loire and the Pyrenees. Thus strengthened he crossed the Channel to claim England by the right of his mother, and took fortress after fortress. As long as king Stephen had an heir in his son Eustace, he defended his inheritance; but when Eustace died in 1153 Stephen, in a personal meeting with Henry of Anjou, concluded the treaty of Wallingford, according to which Stephen was to rule England for the rest of his life, and Henry to succeed him as his adopted son and heir. The castles built without royal permission were to be razed. The reconciliation of Stephen and Henry cowed the robber barons into submission and a real peace settled upon the country. When Stephen died in 1154, Henry of Anjou was acknowledged and crowned at Westminister without opposition. With him the House of Plantagenet came to England. After the usual promises of good government, he spent the first years of his reign in driving out the foreign mercenaries, destroying robber keeps, humbling refractory barons, and compelling Malcolm of Scotland (1153–65), the grandson and successor of king David, to return the northern counties granted to David in Stephen's days.

491. **Henry II., 1154–1189 — His Policy.** — Henry II. acceded to the throne at the age of twenty-one. He was robust, active, restless, constantly moving from place to place either in England or France, strong-willed, sagacious, but grossly immoral in his private life. On the continent his policy was to retain and defend what he had acquired without extending his conquests, in England to strengthen the royal power. For this purpose he summoned the Great Council more frequently than his predecessors in order to interest the barons in the government of the country rather than in its division. He increased the influence of the curia regis, and the efficiency of

the Exchequer, and introduced the Scutage. As the fyrd or general levy of Englishmen could never be summoned and the feudal retainers only forty days in the year to serve outside of England, he compounded with his vassals in such a way that they had to pay for every knight's fee a sum of money called the scutage or shield money instead of serving in the field. With the money thus obtained he paid the mercenaries who fought his quarrels in France.

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§ 11.

HENRY II. AND THOMAS À BECKET.

492. Thomas a Becket. — Thomas à Becket, son of Gilbert, a London merchant, was Henry's chief friend, counsellor and helper in war and diplomacy. He had been archdeacon of Canterbury and had passed from the service of Archbishop Theobald to the chancellorship of the kingdom. In the midst of a splendid court and a sumptuous household his life as chancellor remained pure and chaste. Thirteen months after Theobald's death he was nominated by king Henry to the Primatial See and elected by the monks of Christ's Church, and at once changed his natural love of magnificence for a life of religious austerity and the practice of all religious virtues. The king was in hopes that the *royal customs*, claims which his predecessors had raised in contradiction with the laws of the Church, would be recognized and increased by his chancellor. But to retain his freedom of action, Thomas resigned the chancellorship and the great seal of England.

493. Beginning of the Conflict. — Thomas began his administration with reclaiming all the estates of Canterbury which had been alienated from their purpose, the support of the Church and the service of the poor. In this he was upheld by the king. But trouble began to brew when he refused to absolve an excommunicated lord at the dictate of the king, and to hand over

a few clerics taken in crime to the secular court. In the council of Westminster the king made two demands: (a) That a royal official should attend the court of the archdeacon, when trying cases in the bishop's name; (b) that clerics guilty of crimes should be degraded by the Church and then handed over to the secular courts. St. Thomas saw at once that the second demand was the entering wedge by which Henry endeavored to subject the Church to the jurisdiction of the State. He insisted on the point that it was an injustice to try and punish a man twice for the same crime. Clergymen were properly tried by their own ecclesiastical courts as laymen were tried by their peers. The royal demand struck at the canon law as it stood in all Christendom, as it stood in England since William the Conqueror. Advised by the Primate, the bishops granted the first but rejected the second demand. Henry concealed his chagrin and came forward with a more general demand: the bishops should respect and observe his ancestral customs (consuetudines avitae), i. e., the royal rights in ecclesiastical affairs introduced by custom. St. Thomas and all the bishops cautiously answered, they were willing to observe the customs, saving their rights as bishops and the rights of the Church. The king abruptly left the assembly in a towering rage. From this day dated his hostility to the Archbishop.

494. The Royal Customs. — The most important of the royal customs as soon after defined in the sixteen Articles of Clarendon, declared that the revenues of bishopries, abbeys or priories of royal foundation should, during a vacancy, go to the king, that new elections should take place in consequence of a king's writ and in the king's chapel, that clergymen guilty of crimes should be tried in the king's court, that no tenant-in-chief of the king could be excommunicated without the king's permission, that beneficed clergy from the Primate downward should not leave the kingdom (i. e., go to Rome) without the king's leave, and that no appeal to the Holy See should be allowed without the sanction of the curia regis, that ecclesiastical appeals should be sent to the king's court in last resort. These customs, sometimes practiced by the kings, were never acknowledged by the Church. These Articles were new and unwarranted, as far as they changed *unwritten* customs into written laws, *summed up* in a legal code claims which different kings at different times had practiced or usurped, and established temporary encroachments as permanent rights. If the Articles of Clarendon had obtained legal force, they would have cut off England from the rest of Christendom and intruded the king of England into the Pope's place.

495. The Great Council of Clarendon, 1164. — Had the English bishops continued to support their Primate, the king would have found it difficult to accomplish his design. But a majority of bishops gradually went over to the king's party. The temporizing bishops were headed by Roger, Archbishop of York, and Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, both personal enemies of St. Thomas. Henry subjected the Archbishop to daily vexations and unjust money demands. Intrigues of another sort were set on foot to shake the constancy of Thomas. He was told, the king had sworn to do nothing against the rights of the Church; he only wished to be honored before the secular barons by the bishops' consent to the customs however formal and shadowy. A Norman abbot in good standing, who had just arrived from the continent, falsely intimated to him that Alexander III. desired the bishops to accept the customs upon his own responsibility, to avert greater evils. Letters of Cardinals favorable to Henry were shown around written in the same vein. Under the pressure of these revelations St. Thomas finally gave way and signified to the king his willingness to accept the customs. The king then summoned the Great Council of barons spiritual and temporal to his royal palace of Clarendon, where the sixteen Articles or Constitutions of Clarendon were finally drawn up. With doubts, fear and reluctance St. Thomas swore to the Articles, and wrote a letter to Alexander III., in which he seconded Henry's petition for the papal confirmation. The rest of the bishops accepted the Constitutions as a matter of course. But no sooner had the refusal of the Pope to ratify the Articles arrived, than Thomas withdrew his late action, interdicted himself for forty days from the exercise of his episcopal functions and the celebration of Mass, and implored absolution from Alexander III. Thus broke out the contest between the king and the Primate, between the Canon Law held sacred in the whole Church and the Norman Byzantinism in Church affairs.

496. Persecution. — The persecution of the Archbishop was taken up with renewed bitterness and culminated in the action of the royal court at Northampton to which St. Thomas was summoned by the sheriff. Here the king raised the groundless charge of malfeasance during his chancellorship amounting to 60,000*l.* (at the

present rate 400,000*l.*). To turn the Articles of Clarendon against him, he was accused of treason for refusing to plead in a civil suit before the lay court. The bishops were nearly all against him, but a feeling of propriety forbade them to judge their Metropolitan. Accordingly the sentence was passed by the barons and communicated to St. Thomas by the earl of Leicester and Cornwall. With great composure the Primate replied: "Son and earl, yet listen. Neither law nor reason permit children to judge their father. Wherefore I decline the judgment of the king and yours; for under God, I will be judged by the Pope alone, to whom before you all I here appeal." He then left the castle of Northampton, and soon after the shores of England. In France he found a true friend in Louis VII., and a firm protector in Alexander III., who refused to accept his proffered resignation, publicly condemned ten of the Articles of Clarendon, absolved the English bishops from the oath they had tendered to the king in the matter of the customs, and excommunicated all who should maintain or observe the Articles. From the papal court at Sens the exiled Archbishop retired to the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny where he spent two years in prayer and silence. The king's wrath pursued him beyond the sea. He confiscated the revenues of Canterbury, and banished and reduced to beggary all the relatives and friends of Thomas, four hundred persons, without distinction of age or sex, obliging them under oath to repair to Pontigny, that the Archbishop might witness their misery. The Cistercian Order was threatened with the confiscation of whatever property they had within his dominions, unless they drove St. Thomas from his retreat. Hence in 1166, at the friendly invitation of Louis VII. the saint took up his abode in the royal abbey of Columba, where Henry's arm could not reach him.

For several years Henry II. exhausted all the resources of his craft, — intimidation, promises, open calumny, bribing of Cardinals, appeals to the Holy See by individual bishops and by the whole body of the episcopacy, to overthrow the Primate. More than once Alexander III., partly in need of England's help against Barbarossa, partly importuned by the Cardinals favorable to Henry II., wavered in his protection of the great Archbishop. But Thomas Becket confirmed by frequent letters the mind of the Pontiff, checked the opposition of Cardinals unfriendly to his cause, excommunicated, with Alexander's permission, the advisers of the king, and intimated

to Henry in strong but affectionate language the ban which awaited his impenitence.

497. A Reconciliation. — Alexander III., towards the end of 1169, announced his determination to excommunicate Henry, and to lay England under the interdict, unless he made his peace with Thomas of Canterbury. The king saw that it was time to come to terms. But before going to meet St. Thomas he resolved to crown his eldest son Henry in order to secure the succession and to save the Articles of Clarendon. Accordingly he invited Archbishop Roger of York, to crown the prince at Westminster, though the right of coronation belonged to the See of Canturbury, and York had no authority to perform any function outside his diocese. The ceremony was performed in June, 1170, in presence of Gilbert Foliot and other enemies of Thomas. The day before, Roger received from both the Pope and Archbishop Thomas notice of the excommunication of all the bishops taking part in the ceremony. After the coronation the king declared his readiness to make peace with St. Thomas. A meeting between Henry II., Louis VII. and Thomas à Becket was arranged on the plain of La Ferté (south of Chartres), which bore the ominous name of "Traitors Field." That same morning the king had sworn never to grant the kiss of peace to the Primate, yet he went through the comedy of reconciliation with all his arts of dissimulation. The Archbishop humbly asked him to grant peace and security to his person, and to undo the injury he had done to the Church. Thinking the Articles of Clarendon safe in the hands of his son, the king promised everything.

498. Martyrdom, 1170. — With a presentiment of his coming fate Thomas sailed to England. Louis VII. had warned him to delay his return until he had received the kiss of peace from his master. The delight of the faithful people of England was unbounded when they saw their Archbishop disembark. But for St. Thomas there came no fulfillment of the promises made at La Ferté. He met the determined opposition of the bishops and nobles who had profited by the spoliation of Canterbury. Roger of York, Gilbert Foliot and the bishop of Salisbury, excommunicated as they were, hastened to Normandy with bitter complaints. The king in one of

his paroxysms of rage exclaimed: "Of the cowards who eat my bread is there not one to free me from this turbulent priest?" Four knights, personal enemies of Becket, at once crossed the channel. It was five o'clock in the afternoon of December 29th, when they entered Canterbury cathedral and found the Archbishop in prayer before the altar. "Where is the traitor?" shouted one of the armed band. No answer came. "Where is the Archbishop?" was again called. This time Thomas answered: "Here I am, no traitor, but the Archbishop." William de Tracy aimed the first blow at his head. The third blow prostrated him before the altar of St. Benedict — where his last faint words were heard: "For the name of Jesus and the defense of the Church I am ready to die." Richard de Bretons severed the crown of the head from the skull.

"The moment of his death was the triumph of his cause. The advocates of the 'customs' were silenced. Those who had been eager to condemn were now the foremost to applaud his conduct, and his bitterest foes sought to remove from themselves the odium of having been his persecutors." Well-attested miracles multiplied so rapidly that the crypt had to be thrown open, though the cathedral was under the ban of desecration. Pilgrims from all England and from the continent flocked to his shrine. Only three years after his martyrdom Alexander III. canonized the martyr, who became the most popular Saint of the English people.

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§ 12.

IRELAND AND HENRY II., LAST YEARS OF HENRY'S REIGN.

499. **The Battle of Clontarf, 1014.** — In Ireland the hour of delivery from the Northmen invasions came with the ardrighs Malachi, king of Meath, and Brian Boru, Brian of the Tribute, king of Munster. Malachi in the latter part of the tenth century won many victories over the Danes and established an era of peace. Brian subsequently conquered nearly all Ireland, supplanted Malachi as ardrigh, and entered Dublin, taking treasure and hostages. Like an Irish Aelfred he rebuilt the monasteries that had been destroyed by the invaders, founded or restored schools and colleges, erected bridges and fortresses all over the country and caused the laws to be obeyed.

In 1014 the Northmen rose for a last effort, drawing reinforcements from the Isle of Man, from Northumbria, from the Orkneys, and from Norway. Brian with the men of Munster, Connaught, and Meath — Malachi, with rare patriotism fighting under his banner — marched to Clontarf on the outskirts of Dublin. The Irish host under the chief command of Brian's eldest son, completely routed the Danes on Good Friday, 1014. It was the very year when Swegen Forkbeard conquered England. The victory was dearly bought by the death of Brian, his son Murrough and his grandson Furlough. The battle of Clontarf was the last struggle between Christianity and heathenism. The news of the great victory resounded through the whole Scandinavian world; from that day the Northmen ceased to be a peril to Ireland and Scotland. They were allowed to remain in Dublin, Wexford, Wicklow, and Waterford, became Christians, settled down like the rest of the people and devoted themselves to agriculture, industry and commerce.

500. **Conquest of the Pale by the Anglo-Normans, 1169–71.** — After the death of Brian at Clontarf, the supreme office of ardrigh reverted to Malachi. His reign was succeeded by a series of dynastic disputes for the throne in which the O'Briens were overthrown by the O'Neills, and the O'Neills by the O'Connors of Connaught. Each king ruled his own tribal kingdom but no ardrigh ruled over the whole, until Roderic O'Connor, the last native king of all Ireland, came to power in 1166. His chief opponent was Dermot MacMurrough, king of Leinster, who combined zeal for founding churches and encouraging learning with ferocious cruelty and licentiousness. Out-

side of his kingdom he was against all men and all were against him. Deposed for violating the home of a neighboring chief he fled to Henry II., then staying in Normandy, and paid homage to him. Henry permitted him to engage such of his Norman knights as might be willing to accompany him. Richard of Clare, earl of Pembroke, for his prodigious strength called Strongbow, and other Anglo-Norman adventurers, successively crossed over to Ireland and aided Dermot to repossess himself of his hereditary lands. Strongbow married Eve, the daughter of Dermot, established himself at Dublin, and ruled pretty much like a king. The Irish allowed them to settle in that part of the island which had been held before by the Danes. Very soon, however, the rapacity of the new-comers became a cause of great disturbances, and a number of chiefs sent ambassadors to Henry, that he himself should come and restore order.

501. The Coming of Henry II. — The invitation came at the most opportune moment. Henry had just heard of the murder of St. Thomas. He at once sent ambassadors to Alexander III. to avert a personal excommunication by his sworn promise of absolute submission to the judgment of the Holy See, and hastily withdrew to England. To avoid the first legates of the Pope, he organized an expedition and set out for Ireland with a fleet of 400 vessels carrying 10,000 men, not avowedly to invade and conquer Ireland, but to curb the insolence and to punish the deeds of pillage of his own Norman free-booters. During his stay in Ireland he fought no battle. He punished the most lawless of the early Norman adventurers, and this more than anything else reconciled the native princes to his military display. In return he was acknowledged by a majority of the Irish chietains assembled at Waterford as their lord, a recognition which involved neither a right of possession by conquest on his part, nor a surrender of their own hereditary rights on the part of the chiefs. Roderic of Connaught alone protested, but was too weak to offer resistance.

Shortly before the arrival of Henry the bishops assembled at Armagh had declared the threatened invasion a punishment of God for the sins of the people, especially their practice of purchasing English slaves from merchants and pirates, and passed a decree that all English slaves should be emancipated. At Waterford all the prelates, four Archbishops and twenty-eight bishops, made their submission. Soon after they met in the national synod of Cashel under the presidency of a papal legate, and reformed a number of ecclesiastical abuses.

502. The Bull "Laudabiliter." — John of Salisbury relates in the last chapter of his "Metalogicus," that Adrian IV. in a letter dated 1155, which has since become celebrated, granted to Henry II. the papal sanction for entering Ireland in her distracted state after the Danish wars to restore peace, the observance of laws and of the rights of the Church. Although doubts and difficulties exist as to the authenticity of this letter, a majority of historians regard it as genuine. "It was the general belief of the time (based on the Donation of Constantine) that all islands fell under the jurisdiction of the Holy See, and it was as a possession of the Roman Church that Henry had sought Hadrian's permission to enter Ireland." The Bull authorized no invasion, conquest, or plunder of the Irish people, made no gift or transfer of dominion to Henry II. save the vague title of lord. As a matter of fact, the Bull had no influence on the submission of the Irish chiefs, as it was published for the first time in 1175, *i. e.*, three years after the submission of the Irish princes and bishops.

503 The Pale — The southeast part comprising Meath and Leinster (with Dublin, Wexford, Wicklow and Waterford), was held for centuries by the Anglo-Normans as a real English province, called the Pale on account of the Pallisades and fortifications inclosing it. With the establishment of this armed colony commenced a struggle of four centuries, during which the Pale may be looked upon as a fortified camp, whose boundaries shifted with circumstances, a fortress besieged on the landside and receiving reinforcements by sea. The besieged made frequent sallies and sometimes carried fire and sword beyond the Shannon; the Irish made spasmodic efforts to drive the Anglo-Normans into the sea. But after all the bloody encounters the limits of the two powers remained nearly the same, the English being too weak to crush the resistance of the natives, and unfortunately for Ireland, her native princes fighting as bitterly against each other as against the common foe.

504. Henry's Penitence and Absolution, 1172. — Henry II. returned to Normandy, 1172, and made his peace with the Church at Avranches. He purged himself by a solemn oath from the charge of having intended or commanded the murder of the Primate, but fearing that his passion occasioned it, he renounced under oath the Constitutions of Clarendon, granted freedom of appeals to the Holy See, pledged himself to restore the confiscated property of Canterbury, to reinstate the adherents and friends of St. Thomas, to take the cross if possible, and at once to pay to the Templars a sum sufficient to support 200 soldiers. He was then absolved from excommunication.

505. Louis VII. of France, Henry II. and his Sons : —

HENRY II., m. Eleanor of Aquitaine.

Henry, m. Margaret of France. Twice crowned King.	**RICHARD LIONHEART**, Duke of Aquitaine. King of England, 1189–1199.	*Geoffrey*, m. Constance of Brittany. Duke of Brittany. Arthur.	**JOHN LACKLAND**, King of Engl., 1199–1216. **HENRY III.** King of England, 1216–1272.

With the murder of St. Thomas a curse seems to have entered the family of Henry Plantagenet. Fierce family wars resulted from the division of Henry's vast possessions in France. There existed between Louis VII. and Henry II. an almost chronic state of war or war preparations, growing out of the fact, that the vassal was far more powerful, even in France alone, than his liege. In self-defense the king of France had to force Henry II. to divide his French dominions among his sons. Thus Geoffry became duke of Brittany, Richard, duke of Aquitaine. To provide for his youngest son, John, the king demanded some castles from the eldest, the same who had been illegally crowned by Roger of York, 1170, and recrowned in due form after Henry's submission to the Church, 1172. Young Henry refused his father's demand and allied himself with his father-in law, Louis VII. and the great feudatories of France, and with his brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, whom queen Eleanor stirred up against their father. By good luck in the field and his usual statecraft Henry prevailed in France, and patched up a peace with Louis VII. Queen Eleanor for her part in the trouble was immured in a prison. Meanwhile, the barons of England rose in insurrection and William the Lion, king of Scotland (1165–1214) joined them. When in the spring of 1174 the rebels were gaining the upper hand, Henry crossed over and made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas to do public penance. After praying and weeping at the tomb of the Saint, he bared his shoulders and received five strokes of the discipline from each of the prelates assembled, and three from each of the eighty monks. The same night he received the welcome tidings that the rebels had been defeated at Alnwick, and that William the Lion was his prisoner. Conveyed to Normandy, the king of the Scots bound himself by the treaty of Falaise to become the liegeman of the king of England for *all* his possessions. The same year Henry made peace with his sons. But in 1177 they were again up in arms against their father and against each other. It was then that the "ancestral customs" came home to Henry II. in a startling form. "Dost thou not know," was the message which Geoffrey sent to his father, "that it is our proper nature planted in us by inheritance from our ancestors, that none of us should love the other, but that ever brother should strive with brother and son against father? I would not that thou shouldst deprive us of our hereditary right

nor vainly seek to rob us of our nature." While Henry II. with his son Richard besieged Limoges, young Henry and Geoffrey allowed their archers to shoot at their father and killed or maltreated his messengers. Before Limoges was taken, young Henry sickened and died at the age of twenty-eight, 1183. The king was so deeply moved by the death of his first-born, that he liberated his wife Eleanor, after ten years' imprisonment. In the presence of their parents, Geoffrey and Richard made peace.

506. Henry II. and Philip Augustus, 1180-1223. — Louis VII., the protector of Alexander III. and Thomas à Becket, the friend of the bishops, the benefactor of the monasteries, the promoter of peace in his own domains, the restorer of old and the builder of many new towns, concluded in 1180 a reign in which on the whole he maintained the prestige of his father. He was succeeded by his son Philip Augustus, the "Godgiven." The latter surname he obtained in this wise: Louis VII., father of several daughters, had earnestly longed for a son and successor. In 1164 he visited Citeaux, where the Cistercians held a general chapter, threw himself on the ground, and only rose when he had been assured that God would soon hear his prayers. The prayer was heard the following year. Philip II. spent his first ten years in struggles with the powerful barons who hoped to obtain their old independence under a boy king of fifteen years. In 1185 he scored his first triumph, and added Vermandois to the crown with other fiefs in prospect. The same year Geoffry of Brittany died and Richard became full heir of England and its French dependencies. His father held in durance his affianced bride, a sister of Philip II. Philip demanded the release of his sister and Richard demanded his bride. They received only evasive answers. Repeated negotiations were followed by a new war between father and son. Richard, in the presence of his father, swore allegiance to Philip II. and gained his alliance. The people of Aquitaine rose for Richard. The castles of Maine were stormed; sick and broken in spirit Henry fled from Le Mans, his birthplace, and left it an easy prey to the enemy. Tours was taken by Philip. At Colombières Henry II. surrendered all that he was asked to surrender, to Philip, and secured the English succession to Richard. But when he found on the list of conspirators whom he was to forgive, the name of John, his favorite son, he turned in despair to the wall, saying: "I have nothing left to care for, let all things go their way." In the paroxysms of fever, which seized him, he cursed his sons. Two days after the meeting of Colombières he received the last sacraments and died.

507. Richard I., Lionheart, 1189-1199.—Richard succeeded his father without opposition in the whole Angevin inheritance. He was a great warrior, lavishly generous, impulsive and passionate, and therefore no great statesman. He had been the first to take the cross, and remained the most ardent champion of the Third Crusade. After his coronation which was celebrated at Winchester with more than

ordinary pomp, he directed all his efforts towards the preparations for the Crusade which he had vowed before the death of his father. He sold sheriffdoms, justiceships, church lands and appointments of all kinds to obtain money. He made rich provisions for his mother, and gave five shires to his brother John. William the Lion paid 10,000 marks to him for the recovery of the independence of Scotland. By a charter signed at Canterbury December 5, 1189, the treaty of Falaise was annulled, and the temporal and spiritual independence of the realm of Scotland formally recognized. This act was the precursor of a long period of peace between the kingdoms. Having appointed William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, chancellor and justiciar and obtained for him the office of papal legate, Richard left England in December, 1189, to join Philip Augustus of France in the third Crusade.

He had hardly left the English shores when popular riots against the Jews broke out in many towns, especially in York. It was the time when Philip Augustus in France used very stringent measures to free the Christian population from the frightful oppression which the Jews exercised over them through their financial operations. Philip in one day canceled by law all the debts owed by Christians to Jews. What the king did in France for his subjects, the people in England did for themselves.

On Henry II., see § 10. — Lingard: *Richard I.*, v. 2, ch. 6 — Tout: *Empire and Papacy*, ch. 12, pp. 285-294. — *Bull of Adrian IV. to Henry II.* (1155): Henderson: *Select Hist. Docs.* — B. Jungmann: v. 5, Dissert. 25, Appendix *de Henrici II. in Hibernia expeditione*, pp. 199-209. *For* genuineness of the Bull Laudabiliter: MacGeoghegan: *Hist. of Ireland;* Lanigan: *Engl. Hist. of Ireland;* Doellinger: *Papstfabeln;* Gosselin: *The Power of the Pope;* Hergenroether: K. G., vol. 1, 870; *Catholic Church and Christian State*, VII., 13; Sylvester Malone: *Church Hist. of Ireland; Adrian IV. and Ireland:* D. R. '84, 1, p. 316; *Pfülf: Papst Hadrian IV. und die Schenkung Irelands. Against* the genuineness: Stephen White: *Apologia pro Hibernia*, ed. Kelly; Lynch (Gratianus Lucius): *Cambrensis eversus;* Damberger: *Synchronistische Geschischte*, vol. 8, pp. 695, 890; Most Rev. P. Moran: *Bull of Adrian IV.: Irish Eccl. Record*, Nov., 1872; *Essays on the Early Irish Church; Anal. Jur. Pont.*, 1882, fasc. 185, 186, pp. 257, 397; P. F. Gasquet: *Adrian IV. and Ireland*, D. R. '82, 2, p. 83; J. Morris: *Adrian IV. and Henry Plantagenet* (*Ireland and St. Patrick*, pp. 65-147). — See also: V. R. Th. Burke: *English Misrule in Ireland*, App. — Miss Norgate on *Laudabiliter:* E. H. R., v. 8, pp. 18-52. — J. H. Round; *Commune*, VII. p. 137; the Conquest of Ireland: p. 171: *The Pope and the Conquest of Ireland.* — *Adrian IV. Katholick*, '64, 2, p. 178. — P. W. Joyce: *A Short Hist. of Ireland; A Child's Hist. of Ireland.* — Richey: *Short Hist. of the Irish People.* — Hon. E. Lawless: *Story of Ireland* (*St. of U. S.*). — Keating: *Hist. of Ireland.* — H. Doyle: *An Illustr. Hist. of Ireland.* — *On the Pale*: A. C. Q., v. 3, p. 114. — E. R. '61, 2, p. 372. — Agnes Strickland: *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest* (*Matilda of Flanders*, queen of Wm. the Conqueror; *Matilda of Scotland*, first queen of Henry I., etc.; *Empress Matilda*), *Eleanora of Aquitaine.*) — Luchaire: *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII.; Institutions Monarchiques.*

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE THIRD CRUSADE TO THE INVASION OF THE MONGOLS.

§ 1.

THE THIRD CRUSADE, 1189–1192.

508. Causes of the Decline of the Kingdom of Jerusalem — Many causes contributed to the decline of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The later kings could not compete with their predecessors in strength of character or efficiency of government. The mere transfer of the feudal system to a country, where more than elsewhere a strong central power was necessary, was a grave mistake. The army remaining in the East was too small, too distant from the bases of supplies or reinforcements in cases of emergency. Help from Europe failed, and the failure was owing in a great part to the jealousies of the Christians in Palestine. The Crusaders were divided in politics by feudal conflicts and rivalries, and at variance in religion with the native Christians who were split up into several sects. They were exposed to the attacks of the Turks, the Fatimites of Egypt, the Greeks allied with Moslem powers, and the Assassins of the Mountain. The climate and their Mohammedan surroundings had corrupted their morals and enfeebled their physical strength; the children born in Palestine were weak and incapable. Nurredin had overthrown their eastern bulwark, and a man greater than Nurredin, Saladin, his nephew and greatest general, was beginning his career of conquest.

509. Saladin's Victories — Fall of Jerusalem. — The conquest of Egypt and the overthrow of the Fatimites by Saladin created a new danger for the Christians. After the death of Nurredin, Saladin overcame the quarreling heirs of his uncle, gave all the great cities of Egypt and Syria into the hands of his own family, and with restless energy reunited almost the whole Moslem inheritance of Omar.

In 1187, after a number of preliminary raids, Saladin made his last and decisive attack upon the Latin kingdom. One part of his forces crossed the Jordan and slaying the grandmaster of St. John

and sixty knights defeated the Christians, whilst another part besieged Tripoli. Guy of Lusignan, the last ruling king of Jerusalem, hastened to the relief of Tripoli with the small army of the kingdom. But a few miles from Tiberias the Crusaders were surrounded by overwhelming numbers of Moslem in a waterless defile. Their terrible plight was increased by the smoke of neighboring forests fired by Saladin. Parched with thirst they fought for two days rallying again and again around the True Cross planted on a hillock. By the end of the second day the Christian army was routed, the majority slain, the king, the grandmaster of the Templars and other chief men prisoners of Saladin and the Holy Cross the spoil of the infidel. This battle of Hattin decided the fate of the kingdom. Berytus, Acre, Ascalon, Caesarea, Jaffa and many other cities fell in quick succession. On October 3, 1187, Saladin entered Jerusalem and changed the Christian churches into Mohammedan mosques.

510. Preparations for the Third Crusade. — All Christendom was profoundly stirred up by the news of the fall of Jerusalem. It proved the death blow of Urban III. Within a few weeks appeals were issued from Rome to unite kings and peoples in a new Crusade. William, Archbishop of Tyre, as the legate of Clement III., was indefatigable in preaching and organizing the sacred expedition. A Saladin tax was levied in England and elsewhere. King William II. of Sicily was the first to send a fleet and an army to Syria which saved Antioch, helped to preserve Tripoli, strengthened Conrad of Montferat, the heroic defender of Tyre, and recovered Jaffa.

511. Frederic Barbarossa's Crusade and Death, 1189–1190. — Frederic Barbarossa established a general peace in Germany, sent a declaration of war to Saladin, and appointed king Henry regent during his absence. Accompanied by his son Frederic of Suabia he marched at the head of 100,000 warriers through Hungary and Bulgaria (1189). By his solicitude in providing supplies, free passage, etc., for his men, and by the excellent order and discipline maintained in the army, Frederic surpassed all the other leaders of the Crusades. The eastern Emperor Isaac Angelus was allied to Saladin, and showed himself extremely hostile to the Crusaders, so

that Frederic had sometimes to fight his way through the Greek Empire. In Asia Minor (1190) the aged Emperor scattered an army of 300,000 Seljuks at Philomelium and gained a second great victory at Iconium, while Frederic of Suabia planted his banner on the walls of the city. Soon after, however, the Emperor met his death near Seleucia in the river Calycadnus whilst attempting to swim the rapid stream. The army, deprived of its experienced leader, became utterly discouraged, and broke up into several bands. Frederic of Suabia led the larger portion of the remaining army to Antioch, where the mortal remains of the great Emperor were buried before the altar of St. Peter. The death of Barbarossa was perhaps the greatest loss sustained in this Crusade; his age, experience and imperial prestige might have prevented the quarrels which wrecked the third and best organized Crusade.

512. **Richard and Philip Augustus — Conquest of Cyprus.** — Richard and Philip Augustus mustered their forces at Vezelai, 1189, and embarked at Marseilles for Messina, where they wintered. Here the first of those quarrels broke out between Richard and Philip which later ended in the premature return of Philip to France. Richard, in his own characteristic way, settled another dispute. At the death of William II. popular favor and fear of German occupation had co-operated in raising Tancred, an illegitimate grandson of Roger I., to the throne of the Sicilies, in opposition to the claims of the Hohenstaufen Henry VI. and his wife Constance. Tancred had imprisoned king Richard's sister Joanna, the widow of William II., and confiscated her property. The storming of Messina by Richard "quicker than a clerk could chant Matins," induced Tancred to free Joanna and to pay an indemnity of 40,000 ounces of gold to her brother. Apart from this family quarrel Richard, as the determined foe of the Hohenstaufen, favored Tancred's elevation and concluded an alliance with him. In the spring of 1190 the two crusading kings sailed for Acre. Richard's fleet was scattered by a storm and some of his ships wrecked on the coast of Cyprus. The despot of the island, a relative of the Greek Emperor, imprisoned the crews. When Richard arrived with the rest of the fleet and failed to obtain the desired redress, he conquered Cyprus in twenty-five days, imprisoned the despot in chains of silver, and made the island a Latin kingdom and the base of supplies for Palestine.

513. The Siege and Capture of Acre, August, 1189–July, 1191. — Meanwhile Guy of Lusignan, released from captivity by the generous Saladin, had begun the siege of Acre with the

forces of the dismembered kingdom. Acre (Accon, Ptolemais) was the most important of the Saracen conquests after Jerusalem. His small army was successively reinforced by 12,000 Flemings, Frisians and Danes, by Frederic of Suabia and the rest of Barbarossa's army, by the counts of Brienne and Bar, by landgrave Ludwig of Thuringia and Conrad of Montferat (1190), by Henry of Champagne with 10,000 men, and finally by Philip Augustus and Richard the Lionheart (1191).

The Crusaders surrounded the city from shore to shore, and were themselves surrounded by the vast forces of Saladin, a siege within a siege. Many battles were fought with varying success by land and sea during the two years' siege. Famine, diseases, rivalries between the kings of England and France, disputes about the crown of Jerusalem, Richard supporting Guy of Lusignan, Philip, Conrad of Montferat, the savior of Tyre, delayed the operations of the Crusaders. During the siege forty German knights founded the Teutonic Order, the third of the great Orders of Knighthood. Their protector, Frederic of Suabia, died before the walls of Acre. At last on July 12, 1191, the standard of the cross waved from the walls of the fortress before which 120,000 Christians and 140,000 Moslems had fallen. Among the terms of surrender agreed to by Saladin were the liberation of 200 knights and 1,500 other Christian captives, the restoration of the True Cross, a ransom of 200,000 Byzantines for the garrison of Acre, and the delivery of 3,000 hostages by Saladin for the carrying out of the treaty in a stipulated time. The captives were divided between the two kings.

As Saladin failed to pay the ransom in due time and even put his Christian captives to the sword, Richard retaliated by the massacre of 2,000 hostages in full view of the Moslem camp.

The crown dispute was settled in such a way that Guy kept his royal title but shared his power with Conrad who was to succeed him. Conrad's power, however, became so strong that Richard finally acknowledged him as titular king of Jerusalem. Shortly after Conrad was assassinated by two emissaries of the Old Man of the Mountain. Henry of Champagne was agreed upon as king of Jerusalem and Guy of Lusignan was indemnified by receiving the kingdom of Cyprus. His family ruled that island more than two centuries after the last Frankish possessions on the mainland had

fallen into the hands of the Moslem. By this time Philip Augustus had left the Holy Land, swearing before his departure to do no wrong to Richard's men and lands in Europe.

514. Richard's Exploits in Syria. — The army, still estimated at 100,000 men, marched southward under the command of Richard, and was attacked by 300,000 Moslem under Saladin at Arsouf. The Christians were beginning to yield in one part of the field, when Richard galloped to the rescue and with his war cry: "God and the Holy Sepulchre help us," drove the Turks in headlong flight before him. It was the most bloody defeat in Saladin's life. Thirty-two emirs lay dead on the field. Richard then fortified Jaffa, and rebuilt Ascalon which the Turks had destroyed when evacuating it. From the king downward to the humblest man-at-arms, every body worked with a will. The king's liberality furnished three-quarters of the expense. Whilst capturing fortresses of southern Palestine he achieved wonders of bravery which increased his fame among the Christians and the terror of his name among the Moslem. On one occasion, near Emmaus, he attacked single-handed a horde of Turks, slew twenty and chased the rest before him. With only fifty knights he scattered another large army at Jaffa. "Saladin himself fled before him like a hunted hare." The Templars, too, increased their renown; everywhere they were found at the most dangerous posts. They were still the model Crusaders; friends and foes united in the praise of their uprightness and loyalty. Twice Richard approached Jerusalem, but each time allowed the favorable moment of attack to slip away.

515. Saladin's Truce. — Both sides, however, began to long for peace. Richard had heard evil news from England, and Saladin's emirs were discouraged. Accordingly a truce of three years was concluded which left, besides Tripoli and Antioch, the coast range from Tyre to Jaffa in the possession of the Christians and allowed pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre without restriction. Meanwhile Ascalon was to be left unoccupied. Latin priests were permitted to celebrate divine service at the Holy Sepulchre, in Bethlehem and Nazareth. Save for Acre the whole of the Christian acquisitions were due to Richard. He left Syria in the autumn of

1192, soon to exchange the stirring life of the East for the solitude of a German prison.

Michaud-Bobson: *Hist. of the Crusades.* — Archer and Kingsford: *Story of the Crusades* and other works under ch. 1, §§ 1 and 2. — T. A. Archer: *The Crusade of Richard I.* — Lord John de Joinville: *Chronicles of the Crusades* (from Richard I. to St. Louis IX.). — Archb. William of Tyre: *Historia transmarina.* — G. Drevis: *Die Belagerung Accons:* St., v. 21, pp. 387, 492. — *Mediæval Cyprus:* E. R. '95, 2, p. 440. — E. Rey: *Les Colonies Franques en Syrie.* — L. de Mas-Latrie: *Hist. de l'île de Chypre.* — Stanley Lane-Poole: *Saladin and the fall of Jerusalem.* — M. Marin: *Hist. de Saladin.* — *The Age of Saladin:* Q. R. '96, 1, p. 163. — Arthur Gilman: *The Story of the Saracens* (St. of N. S.). — Oman: *Story of the Byzantine Empire* (*ibid.*). — H. H. Boyesen: *Story of Norway* (*ibid.*). — W. S. Lindsay: *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce.* — *On Naval Matters in Middle Ages:* E. R. '76, 1, p. 420. — Adolf Gottlob: *Die Paepstlichen Kreuzzugs Steuern;* also H. P. B. v. 14, p. 847. — *The Constitution of the Republic of Venice:* Q. R. '86, 2, p. 356.—Perlbach: *Die Statuten des deutschen Ordens.*

§ 2.

HENRY VI. OF HOHENSTAUFEN, RICHARD I., AND PHILIP AUGUSTUS AFTER THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

516. Henry VI. First Sicilian Expedition, 1191. — Henry VI., Frederic Barbarossa's eldest son, a cruel, crafty and unscrupulous character, was crowned Emperor, after some hesitation, by Celestine III., 1191. Heedless of the Pope's remonstrance, he marched to Apulia to recover the inheritance of his wife, Constance, held by Tancred of Lecce, on whom Clement III. had conferred feudal investiture. Henry occupied Salerno and a few other towns, but the strenuous resistance of Naples, an epidemic which invaded his army, and a national rising forced him to return, baffled and beaten, to Germany. His wife Constance had been captured and surrendered to Tancred, but owed her liberation to the intercession of Celestine III.

517. Henry's Policy at Home. — In Germany Henry entered upon a career of crime. Not content with violating the Concordat of Worms by intruding a simonist bishop into the see of Liège, he sent three of his knights to murder the lawful bishop who had been consecrated by the Pope. He ordered Leopold of Austria to intercept Richard Lionheart who, on his return from the third Crusade, had suffered shipwreck at Aquileia. He had reached Vienna in disguise when he was detained by Leopold, his bitter antagonist in the Holy

Land, and handed over to the Emperor, 1192. Henry imprisoned the English king first in the castle of Trifels and subsequently at Worms. The motive for this violation of the law of nations was Richard's alliance with Tancred of Lecce and his connection with the Welfic party as the brother-in-law of Henry the Lion, with whom the Emperor was at war. The imprisonment of a Crusader standing under the special protection of the Holy See, brought down the papal excommunication on Henry VI. Nevertheless both Philip Augustus and Richard's own brother John Lackland, pressed the Emperor to keep the captive as long as he could. When at last the Emperor reconciled himself to the aged Henry the Lion (d. 1195), Richard was released, but had to pay a ransom of 150,000 marks of silver, renounce his alliance with Tancred, and declare and hold his own kingdom of England as a fief of the Empire, 1194.

518. Second and Third Italian Expeditions, 1194–1197.— When Tancred of Lecce died in 1194, leaving his younger son William, crowned in his minority, to succeed him, the Emperor undertook his second expedition to Italy, and conquered Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. By the conqueror's order issued against his plighted word, young William, though he had resigned his claims, was blinded and mutilated, and with his mother and sister sent beyond the Alps to die in obscure confinement. Henry had scarcely returned to Germany when the tyranny of his German officials in Sicily caused a formidable conspiracy. He promptly hastened to the scene, 1196, and crushed out all opposition with barbarous cruelty. Nobles and bishops in great numbers were burnt, hanged, drowned, blinded or mutilated. In the midst of the hideous tortures of his victims, and on the point of embarking in new schemes of aggrandizement, the tyrant was carried off by a sudden fever at Messina, September 28, 1197, at the age of thirty-two.

519. **Henry's Power and Plans.** — In Germany, Henry's chief aim was to make the imperial crown hereditary in his family. He gained the majority of the bishops and fifty-two secular princes for his plan. But the opposition of the Pope, of the Archbishops of Mainz and Koeln and of the rest of the princes so far prevailed, that he contented himself for the time being with the coronation of his son Frederic, "the Sicilian Child," as Roman king at the age of two. In Italy he wielded a greater power than any Em-

peror before or after him. The rival city leagues of Milan and Cremona placed their treasuries at his disposal. The merchant republics of Pisa and Genoa were his allies. His governors ruled the Matildan inheritance and other parts of the Patrimony of St. Peter. Southern Italy lay bleeding at his feet. With the vast resources united in his hand he intended to conquer the Greek Empire and Syria with the warriors of Germany and the money of Italy, and rule both Europe and the East from Italy as the centre, when death cut short his ambitions. He repented on his deathbed and ordered the ransom of Richard Lionheart, and the rights of the Holy See to be restored. He was, however, refused ecclesiastical burial, until the restitution of the ransom was accomplished. Shortly after January, 1198, Celestine III. passed to a better life.

520. Last Years of King Richard Lionheart. — Philip Augustus had profited by the long absence of Richard to create difficulties in England. He found only too willing a tool in John. When the news of Richard's capture and imprisonment reached England, John allied himself with Philip Augustus to secure the crown for himself and to prevent his brother's return, and ceded, in confirmation of this alliance, a great part of Normandy to the king of France. The party of John vanished at once, as soon as the lionhearted king returned to the shores of England. This second stay of Richard in England lasted, however, only a few months, which he employed in collecting as much money as he could for his continental warfare. Leaving the government in the hands of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, he sailed to France to continue the wars provoked by Philip. Battles, truces, treaties, in which the advantage, on the whole, was on Richard's side, followed each other in quick succession, until Innocent III. succeeded in mediating a peace of five years between the kings. Soon after Richard met his death before the castle of Chalus Chabrol in an obscure feud with one of his vassals. Mortally wounded the lionhearted king, generous to the last, forgave his murderer and his enemies, received the last sacraments, and died 1199 naming his brother John his successor.

Fr. v. Raumer: *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen.* — Henderson: *Germany.* — Emerton: *Mediæval Europe* (p. 313). — Tout: *Empire*, etc. — Bryce: *Holy Empire.* — Gregorovius: *Hist. of the City of Rome:* Book VIII. — Hutton: *Philip Augustus.* — *Histories of France.* — James: *History of Richard Cœur-de-Lion.* — Lamb: *Richard I., Warrior Kings.* — Miss Norgate: *Angevin Kings.* — Th. Toeche: *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches; unter Heinrich VI.; Kaiser Heinrich VI.* — K. A. Kneller: *Des Richard Löwenherz deutsche Gefangenschaft*, 1192-1194. — Aemil R. Kindt: *Gründe der Gefangenschaft Richards I.*

§ 3.

THE DIVERSION OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

521. The German Crusade of 1197. — At the death of Saladin, 1193, his great empire fell asunder into several principali-

ties. Within the next ten years his brother El Adel once more united Syria and Mesopotamia with Egypt, where his descendants continued to rule. A German Crusade of 60,000 warriors led by Archbishop Conrad of Mainz embarked in Italy for the Holy Land, 1197. Their only success was the taking of Berytus, for as soon as they heard of the death of Henry VI. they returned to Germany.

522. Innocent III. — On the funeral day of Celestine III., Cardinal Lothar, of the noble house of Segni, a man of commanding intellect and indomitable energy, a profound scholar, a pure, high-minded, ascetical churchman, a Pontiff fitted by nature and grace to rule men, was unanimously elected at the age of thirty-five and assumed the name of Innocent III. In him the mediæval Papacy reached its highest embodiment. Never before was the influence of the Holy See more universal, never reverence for its decisions more widespread and sincere. Innocent began his Pontificate with abolishing abuses which had crept into the Roman court, and reforming the methods of ecclesiastical administration. He restored the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See in Rome, in the Matildan inheritance and the entire Patrimony. All great officials, whether imperial prefects and governors, or Roman senators, had either to take an oath to obey *him*, or to leave. The Milanese and Tuscan cities joyfully accorded him the protectorate over their leagues. He invested Constance, the widow of Henry VI., with Sicily, Apulia and Capua, and upon her request on her deathbed assumed the guardianship over her son Frederic, the "Sicilian Child." Having arranged the affairs of Italy, he threw his whole energy into the great movement of the Crusades. He assigned a portion of the church revenues for the maintenance of the Crusaders, and to swell the contributions he melted his own gold and silver plate and contented himself with wooden platters. He appointed churchmen to preach the fourth Crusade, among whom Fulk of Neuilly, a parish priest near Paris, obtained the greatest success and renown, especially in France, Normandy, Flanders and Burgundy.

523. Organization and Original Aim of the Fourth Crusade. — The chief leaders who took the cross were Baldwin of Flanders, and his brothers Eustace and Henry, count Louis of Blois, Walter of Brienne, Simon of Montfort, and Geoffrey of Villeharduin, the historian of the Crusade. Boniface of Montferat, powerful through his large possessions in northern Italy, was chosen leader. He was the brother of that Conrad, titular king of Jerusalem, whom the Assassins of the Mountain had stabbed. Dandolo, the blind and aged Doge or duke of Venice, one of the most astute statesmen of the time, promised to join the expedition. Venice was

chosen as the harbor of embarkation. The Venetians agreed to furnish transports and provisions for a year, upon the payment, however, of the vast sum of 85,000 marks of silver. Egypt was selected as the first objective point of attack, because its possession would have cut the Moslem power in two.

524. **The Greek Empire.** — To understand the complications of the fourth Crusade, we must briefly review the state of the Greek Empire. It had already entered that stage of stagnation which remained its condition for the rest of its existence. The Crusades were more and more diverting its commerce from Constantinople to Acre and other Syrian ports. The low trickery of Alexius I. (1081–1118) had injured the first Crusade without benefiting the Empire. His successor, John II. (1118–1143), whilst fairly successful in defending the frontiers on the Danube against Slavs and Hungarians, and his Asiatic possessions against Armenians and Seljuks, was defeated in a long and costly war undertaken to shake off the commercial supremacy of Venice. His son Manuel I. (1143–80), was brave, warlike, adventurous, but shamefully dissolute. He was succeeded by Alexius II. a boy of twelve. His tutor, Andronicus Comnenus, strangled the young Emperor and his mother, usurped the throne, and incited the populace to massacre the Franks living in Constantinople. But when he attempted to destroy Isaac Angelus, a nobleman related to the imperial house, the people rose, tortured the tyrant to death and raised Isaac Angelus to the throne, 1185–1195. Under him the Bulgarians, who had been peaceful subjects of the Empire since Basil the Slayer, regained their independence, whilst Richard I. tore off Cyprus from the Empire. In 1195, Alexius Angelus (Alexius III.), the Emperor's elder brother, deposed, blinded and imprisoned Isaac. Isaac's young son, Alexius (IV.), who shared his father's imprisonment, managed to escape to the West and implored the aid of the powerful Philip, duke of Suabia, the brother of Emperor Henry VI., and the brother-in-law of the blinded Isaac.

525. The Conquest and Constitution of Zara, 1203. — Not all the Crusaders came to Venice. Walter of Brienne and others embarked at Brindisi. Consequently those who arrived at Venice were unable to pay the full amount agreed upon for transportation. To make up for the deficit the Crusaders were urged by the Venetians to assist them in the taking of Zara, a rival city in Dalmatia belonging to the king of Hungary, who had himself taken the cross. Simon of Montfort and the more conscientious class kept aloof from this venture, especially since Innocent III. threatened excommunication to all who would attack Zara or any other

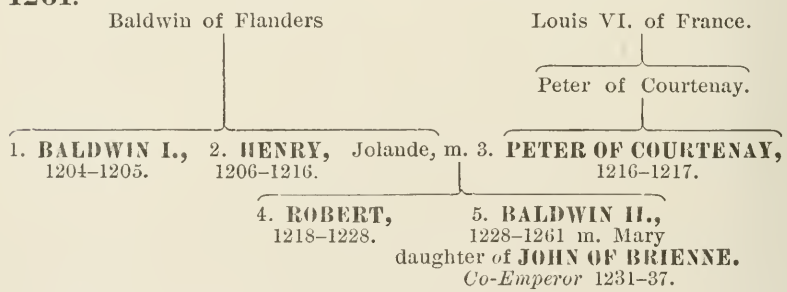
Christian territory. But the rest of the Crusaders allowed themselves to be swayed by Dandolo and quickly reduced Zara. The unscrupulous Boniface of Montferat, who had remained at Venice during the actual conquest to avoid excommunication, now crossed over to Dalmatia, and in secret understanding with Dandolo and Philip of Suabia, sprung a new scheme on the Crusaders. Whilst the army was enjoying comfortable winter quarters in Dalmatia, young Alexius, the fugitive son of the blinded Emperor, appeared at Zara, accompanied by an embassy of Philip of Suabia, now king-elect of Germany. In the name of Alexius, Boniface and Dandolo proposed to the leaders a treaty, the glittering promises of which captivated the council. Only Simon of Montfort protested and at once left for Syria by way of Hungary. According to this treaty, called the Constitution of Zara, the Latins engaged to place the young Alexius on the throne of Constantinople as co-Emperor with Isaac. Alexius promised the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches, 200,000 marks of silver, an army of 20,000 Greeks for the Crusade, and the maintenance of 500 knights in the Holy Land. When the Constitution of Zara was submitted to the body of the Crusaders, their indignation was so great that the leaders had a most difficult task to prevent the breaking up of the army.

In consideration of the promises of amendment, obedience and reparation made by the French leaders, Innocent III. had conditionally absolved the Crusaders, with the exception of Venice, from the ban incurred by the storming of Zara. But when informed of the Constitution of Zara, he condemned the undertaking in vigorous terms. The papal letters, however, did not reach the Crusaders until after the conquest of Constantinople.

526. The Taking of Constantinople, 1204. — When the Venetian fleet carrying the army arrived before Constantinople, the Crusaders sunk the Greek ships at the Golden Horn, stormed the sea-wall and obtained possession of the city. Alexius III. lost courage and fled with the treasures to Thrace. The blind Isaac Angelus was brought forth from the prison and again placed on the throne. He ratified the Constitution of Zara, according to which young Alexius IV. was crowned co-Emperor. The Crusaders who had not yet given up the intention of sailing to Syria, received provisions and part of the stipulated payment, and were assigned win-

ter quarters on the opposite sea-shore. But the continued neighborhood of the Crusaders, the hatred which filled the populace against the Latins, and the heavy taxes imposed to make up the sum agreed upon in the Constitution of Zara, caused popular risings in Constantinople, in the course of which a youth named Nicholas was proclaimed Emperor. The chief actor in the tragedy that followed was Alexius Ducas, a beneficiary of young Alexius Angelus. For whilst the blinded Isaac was dying either of terror or poison, the traitor under the pretext of saving young Alexius from the fury of the people, thrust him into prison and strangled him with his own hands, and removing Nicholas ascended the throne as Alexius V. He repudiated the Constitution of Zara and attacked the Crusaders. Thereupon the Latins stormed the city, burnt down the eastern portion, and pillaged the rest for three days with the usual excesses committed by an infuriated soldiery under strong provocation.* Discipline being restored, Baldwin of Flanders was chosen Emperor, lifted on the shield in Frank fashion, and crowned in the Hagia Sophia. That Baldwin was a brave, virtuous, moderate and just ruler, is attested both by Frank and Byzantine authors, Nicetas included. The Venetian Morisini became the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople.

527. The Latin Emperors and the Latin Empire, 1204–1261.



The Emperor received the fourth part of the Empire and of the booty and two imperial palaces, the remaining three-fourths were equally divided between the Venetians and the Crusaders. Venice

* The highly exaggerated account given of the pillage by Nicetas, an implacable foe of Franks and Catholics, is not borne out by other contemporary evidence, and deserves no credit.

received Dalmatia and Croatia in the neighborhood of the republic and such seaports and islands as she could defend by her fleet. A committee of twenty-four leaders divided the Empire into fiefs and defined the feudal services.

The principal fiefs were: (1) the kingdom of Salonica (1204–1222) conferred as a fief of the crown on Boniface of Montferat, who also established himself in Macedonia and Thessaly. (2) The Frank principality of Achaia or Morea, a fief of the kings of Salonica. (3) The Frankish dukedom of Athens, conferred on Villeharduin. (4) The Venetian dukedom of the Archipelago, with one independent ward in the city of Constantinople and the monopoly of the Greek trade. These three principalities remained under Latin control until the great Ottoman invasion.

528. **Greek Empires.** — The dangers inherent in "Romania," or the Latin Empire of the East, were the multiplicity of nationalities among the Crusaders themselves, the want of assimilation between the Latins and the Greeks, the differences of creed and civilization, repeated Bulgarian incursions, in fighting which both the Emperor Baldwin I. and king Boniface of Montferat lost their lives, and the establishment of Greek Empires around the comparatively small territory of the Latin Empire.

The Greek realms which were formed after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and ruled by members of the House of the Comneni, were: (1) the Empire of Nice, established by Theodore Lascaris (1206–1261). (2) The despotat of Epirus. (3) The Empire of Trebizond on the Black Sea. The kingdom of Salonica was conquered by Theodore Angelus, despot of Epirus, and incorporated with Epirus to form the Greek Empire of Thessalonica (1222); this new Empire was absorbed by the Empire of Nice, and Nice under Michael Palaeologus finally reconquered Constantinople and restored the Byzantine Empire (1261–1453).

529. Attitude of Innocent III. — Innocent III. heard the news of the rapid changes which occurred at Constantinople only after they were accomplished facts. He did not fail to see, that the circumstances were completely changed, and acknowledged the Latin Empire. Dandolo finally submitted to the Pope, but Innocent III. refused to absolve him and the rest of the Crusaders from their vow.

For the next Crusade, which was also due to the indomitable energy of Innocent III., he named, with the exclusion of Venice, Ancona and Brindisi as the ports of embarkation.

530. **The Children's Crusade, 1212.** — The religious enthusiasm of the Crusades spread even to the children. Some 30,000 French children under the shepherd boy Stephen gathered at Vendôme, and 20,000 German children marched under the peasant lad Nicholas from Cologne to Italy. Numbers of the French boys fell victims to designing men, Jews and slave traders. Of 5,000 embarking at Marseilles, some were shipwrecked, others sold as slaves in Egypt by the shipmasters who had promised to convey them to Syria. Contemporary records state that many of these suffered martyrdom for their faith. The great majority of the German boys remained and took service in Genoa and Brindisi, where the bishop wisely prevented them from embarking; the rest returned home. The touching but misdirected zeal of these children is said to have elicited the remark from Innocent III.: "These children put us to shame. While we are asleep they march forth joyously to conquer the Holy Land." The widespread belief that where sinners had failed, innocent children would succeed, seems to have prevented the interference of the authorities.

Books for Consultation on the Fourth Crusade. — Pears: *The Fall of Constantinople, being the Story of the Fourth Crusade.* — Finlay: *Hist. of Greece.* — Oman: *Byzantine Empire.* — B. Jungman: *De Expeditione cruciata quarta;* Dissert. 26, IV., pp. 295-315. — G. Paris-A. Jeanroy: *Extraits de Villeharduin.* — Bohn's *Chronicles of the Crusades.* — G. Z. Gray: *The Children's Crusade.* — Röhricht: *Der Kinder Kreuzzug; Hist. Zeitschrift*, v. 36. — Mombert: *A Short History of the Crusades.* — B. Kugler: *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge.* — Doellinger: *The Crusades as the Origin of the Eastern Question; Studies*, p. 188. — A. Wiel: *Story of Venice* (St. of N. S.). — Horatio Brown: *Venetian Studies* (In the Middle Ages). See also works on Innocent III. in the next §§ and general works on Crusades.

§ 4.

INNOCENT III. AND THE DOUBLE ELECTION IN GERMANY.

531. Double Election in Germany — Philip of Suabia 1198–1208 — Otto IV., 1198–1215. — The death of Henry VI. was followed by a double election in Germany. The Ghibelline majority passing over Frederic as too young, chose Philip of Suabia, the brother of Henry VI. who took the title of Philip II., as successor of the third century Emperor Philip Arabs. He was still under excommunication as usurper of the papal rights in the Patrimony. The Welfic minority, in the absence of Henry, the eldest son of Henry the Lion, elected the second son Otto, the nephew of Richard Lion-

heart, at whose court he had been educated. Otto was regularly crowned at Aachen by the Archbishop of Koeln, Philip irregularly at Mainz, the Archbishop being in the Holy Land. Otto's strength was in the north, Philip's in the south. The Welf was favored by Richard of England, the Waibling by Philip II. of France. Both parties appealed to Innocent III., who, without acknowledging the one or the other of the rival kings, admonished the bishops and princes to settle the dispute by a mutual understanding. Disdaining the Pontiff's advice, the contending factions resorted to arms. The civil war thus engendered devastated Germany for ten years. In 1199 the Pope subjected the claims of the two rivals to a searching investigation which is still extant. He then addressed a letter to all the princes of the Empire, either to unite on a candidate whom he could crown Emperor without danger to the Church or the Empire, or to leave the decision in his hands. As this and several other appeals produced no union, he finally acknowledged Otto in view of his own fidelity and that of his house to the Church, 1202.

When the adherents of Philip accused Innocent of an undue interference in German affairs he answered, that the papal legate had acted neither as elector, for he had chosen no king, nor as judge, for he had passed no sentence — he had only exercised the right of the papal recognition of a candidate to the imperial crown. The Pope fully recognized the right of the German princes to elect their king without papal confirmation. But since the German king was also Roman king, i. e., aspirant to the imperial crown and dignity which the Pope alone could confer, Innocent vindicated to the Holy See the right of examining the king-elect to be promoted to the imperial protectorate of the Church. Otherwise the Pope might be forced to crown an excommunicated or insane candidate, a heretic or a tyrant. In a disputed election, Innocent alleged, it is the duty of the Pope to exhort the princes to united action; this he had done. If the princes fail to come to an understanding, the Pope who has to anoint, consecrate and crown the Emperor, has the right to acknowledge that candidate who promises to be the better defender of the Church; for this is the chief office of the imperial dignity. No refutation of the calm reasoning of Innocent was even attempted.

532. Death of Philip. — Otto's power spread rapidly the next two years; but his own imprudence and imperiousness alienated his friends; the defection of his most powerful adherents and the loss of Koeln placed the balance of power in the hands of Philip. Philip once more appealed to Innocent in a letter in which he promised to submit his case to a court of arbitration, and to satisfy the claims of

the Church. Innocent III. fell back on his first plan, to obtain a truce and to secure a settlement through negotiations between the claimants and their parties. After unsuccessful negotiations, both kings agreed to send their embassadors to Rome to treat the question under the eyes of Innocent III. Throughout all these transactions Innocent acted with the utmost loyalty to both parties. Before a decision, however, was reached, and in the midst of preparations for a last and decisive appeal to arms, an unexpected catastrophe, which had no connection with the controversy, decided the crown-dispute. Philip of Suabia was assassinated, a victim of private revenge, by the Ghibelline Otto of Wittelsbach, for what cause is not known.

The immediate effect of this tragedy was widespread anarchy, speedily suppressed by the general recognition of Otto IV.

533. Otto IV. Crowned, 1209. — Innocent approved the action of the princes who by acknowledging Otto had restored the unity of the Empire. Otto IV. solemnly repeated the sworn promises of former days, to guarantee to the Church freedom of ecclesiastical elections, of appeals to Rome, and of the management of all spiritual affairs; to aid the Church in maintaining or regaining the Patrimony of St. Peter, and to respect the feudal rights of the Pope and of king Frederic in Sicily. He went to Rome and was crowned Emperor in 1209. Hardly crowned, Otto IV. disclaimed all the Welfic traditions and his own oaths, and showed himself as a thorough-going Ghibelline in principle. He occupied the States of the Church, distributed its provinces among his adherents, and invaded Sicily to destroy in the person of Frederic the last heir of the Hohenstaufen.

534. Otto's Excommunication and its Result. — Innocent III. having exhausted peaceful means of reconciliation threatened Otto with the ban of excommunication in 1210, and pronounced it in 1211. As soon as the excommunication was published in Germany, many princes and bishops turned away from Otto, and declared for Frederic, king of Sicily. To put a stop to the defection, Otto hastened home. In the hope of conciliating the Staufen adherents he married Beatrice, the daughter of the murdered king Philip. But four days after the celebration Beatrice died, poisoned, as many believed, by the mistresses whom Otto had imported from Italy.

With the Bavarians and Suabians who at once left the royal camp, Otto lost his chief supporters.

535. Frederic II., 1215–1250. — The young king of Sicily had meanwhile accepted the invitation of the German princes. Before leaving for Germany he met half way the wishes of Innocent, who looked with disfavor on a union of the German and Sicilian crowns. He therefore caused his little child Henry to be crowned king of Sicily and promised the Pope, that after his own imperial coronation, Sicily would be ruled as a separate kingdom. Thereupon, assisted by papal subsidies, Frederic made his way amidst numerous difficulties and dangers to Germany. His vassals gathered around him, dispersed the remaining forces of Otto, and elected Frederic a second time king of the Germans. Frederic II. recognizing Innocent as his greatest benefactor, lavished promises of loyalty, obedience and gratitude upon his former guardian. Otto, on the other hand, allied himself with his kinsman, John of England, against France, with the understanding that John should afterwards help him to reconquer Germany. But the two allies were completely routed in the battle of Bovines, 1214. This defeat sounded the death knell of Otto's hope. Whilst Frederic II. was crowned at Aachen, 1215, and with many princes took the cross, Otto retired to Brunswick, where he spent the rest of his life in obscure privacy.

536. **Death of Otto IV., 1218.** — On his deathbed in presence of the assembled clergy, Otto made a public confession of his sins against the Holy See with evident sincerity and was reconciled to the Church. The imperial crown jewels he handed over to his elder brother Henry, with the order to guard them for four months and then deliver them to his rival. Henry faithfully carried out the commission, and was confirmed by Frederic in his hereditary estates. The establishment of the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg secured to the Welfic House a permanent position among the territorial princes of northern Germany.

Fr. v. Raumer: *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen.* — Toeche: *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich VI.* — B. Jungmann: *De Innocenti III. gestis quoad Imperium:* v. 5, Dissert. 26, I., pp. 231–47. — P. Winkelmann: *Philip von Schwaben und Otto IV. von Braunschweig.* — Tout: *Empire and Papacy:* ch. 14. *Europe in the Days of Innocent III.*, pp. 313–335. — Emerton: *Mediaeval Europe*: ch. 9, 270–313. — Hurter: *Papst Innocenz III. und seine Zeitgenossen* (German and French). — R. Parsons: *The Pontificate of Innocent III.*, v. II., p. 320. — Brischar, S. J.: *Papst Innocenz III. und seine Zeit.* — Fl. Riess: *Die Zeiten Innocenz III. und die Hohenstaufen:* St.: v. 4, p. 115. — Henderson: *Germany.* — Gregorovius: *Rome,* Book IX. — Cherrier: *Hist. de Lutte des Papes et des Empereurs de la Maison de Souabe.*

§ 5.

INNOCENT III. AND JOHN LACKLAND.

537. Philip Augustus and John Lackland (1199–1216).— Philip Augustus steadily pursued the policy of his predecessors of extending the royal domain by a disruption of the Plantagenet power in France. He found his opportunity in the willful tyranny of king John, the successor of Richard Lionheart. The disgusted nobles of Anjou, Maine and Touraine flocked around the standard of Arthur, who claimed the succession as son of John's elder brother, Geoffrey. Philip Augustus espoused the cause of Arthur. But in a rising of Poitou, Arthur became John's prisoner, and, there is little doubt, was murdered by his uncle's hand, being drowned in the Seine near Rouen, as was generally believed. More than once Philip summoned John as his vassal before the court of the peers of France. Refusing to appear, he was declared guilty of felony and high treason, and condemned to forfeit all his French possessions, 1203. Philip at once invaded Normandy, and took city after city. By 1306 most of the English possessions in France, save some fragments of Eleanor's inheritance, were in the hands of Philip II. Thus Normandy, after a union of a hundred and forty years, was separated from England. The Norman barons and bishops gave up their English lands, and the English barons and prelates gave up their Norman lands. Henceforth, John and his successors were mainly English kings. On the other hand, unity of language, character and manners, made the blending of England's subjects in France with the rest of Frenchmen easy and rapid, whilst Aquitaine, with its distinct dialect and customs, still clung to John against Philip II.

538. **Innocent III and John Lackland.** — King John came in open conflict with Innocent III. in 1205, when Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury died. The younger monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, elected Reginald, their subprior, Archbishop, but hurriedly and at night, to prevent royal interference. Enraged at this procedure, the king ordered the election of his treasurer, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich. For the sake of peace the older monks obeyed the royal command. Both parties appealed to Rome. After a full investigation Innocent rejected Reginald as irregularly elected, and John de Gray as unfit by character and occupation in the king's service. He summoned a delegation of fifteen monks of Christ Church, fully authorized by

the rest to act in the name of the whole community — to repair to Rome and proceed to a new election in his own presence. At his suggestion the electors gave the See to Cardinal Stephen Langton, a born Englishman, equally prominent by his piety and strength of character, and one of the first scholars of his day. Innocent himself consecrated the Primate-elect, 1206. Although in no way obliged to announce the election to the king, Innocent nevertheless wrote him a touching letter, beseeching him "for God's honor and by the intercession of St. Thomas to spare the liberty of a church which had endured so many troubles, and to accord his favor to the new Primate."

539. The Interdict. — As soon as John was informed of the election, he angrily declared, that Stephen Langton should never enter England as Primate, and drove the monks of Christ Church from the kingdom. As the king persisted in his refusal, Innocent announced his intention of laying England under the interdict. The bishops of London, Ely and Worcester deputed to make the announcement, implored the king on their knees and with tears in their eyes to recall the exiles and to receive Langton into England. "Only dare to publish an interdict," shouted John, "and I will make over every bishop and priest to the Pope and take their goods and chattels for myself." (1207.) The interdict was proclaimed by the three bishops, who at once crossed over to Normandy (1208). The sentence was strictly obeyed in nearly all the dioceses within John's dominions. The churches were closed. No bell was tolled, no services publicly performed. The administration of the sacraments, save baptism, penance and marriage, was suspended. Sermons were preached on Sundays in the graveyard; baptisms, confessions, churchings and marriages were administered before the church, or in bad weather in the porch of the church. The bodies of the dead were to remain unblessed and unburied till the end of the interdict.

The Popes have been blamed for the stringency of such regulations. But Innocent III. appealed to scriptural precedents, e. g., when the whole people were stricken with pestilence for the sin of David. The king being the head of the nation was considered as forming one body with the people both sharing in common blessings and punishments. The interdict was a powerful, in many cases a necessary, in most cases an effective means of correcting usurpations and public scandals of princes or feudal superiors. The sad plight of the people under an interdict, and their responsibility for such a plight brought them to their senses. The universal clamor for the religious

consolations of which the people were deprived often broke an obstinacy which would have been proof against the force of arms. When it was seen, however, that special dangers to the faithful or the Church resulted from the strict observance of the interdict, it was relaxed, and the ruler himself visited with personal censures. This relaxation was granted in the very interdict placed upon England.

540. **Persecution.** — No sooner was the sentence published than John inaugurated a period of fiscal oppression and general persecution.

The lands of the clergy were seized, the bishops had to flee; only four remained in England and obeyed the king; the sheriffs were ordered to seize the property of every man by whom the interdict was obeyed. Priests were executed and even affixed to crosses by zealous officers of the king. Oppressive taxation, the cruel enforcement of the forest laws, confiscations, weighed heavily on high and low. John was restless, scenting treason in every corner; he needed vast sums for his pleasures and for his warlike diversions in which he subdued the Welsh, enforced feudal superiority over the king of the Scots, and punished refractory barons in the Pale of Ireland. In 1211 he suppressed a rising of the barons in England. To keep them in obedience he compelled them to intrust to him their eldest sons as hostages. Some of these hostages were hanged or starved to death. Other acts of intolerable cruelty and licentiousness drove a great number of the nobility to France, and made almost every baron an enemy of the king.

541. John's Submission. — Appealed to at last by the English prelates to put a stop to the devastation of England and the tyranny of John, Innocent III., while relaxing the interdict, absolved the subjects of John from their oath of allegiance, and empowered Philip Augustus to execute the sentence, if John should continue in his obstinacy. The text of the sentence and of the Pope's letter to Philip is lost. Subsequent letters of Innocent show that no unconditional transfer of England to Philip had taken place. At the same time the legate Pandulph was dispatched to England with a peace formula to make a last attempt at reconciliation. Philip Augustus gathered an army of French and English for an invasion of England. John allied himself with Otto IV. of Germany, count Ferrand of Flanders, and the count of Boulogne.

In England every man able to bear arms was summoned to Dover under the penalty of culvertage (loss of property and everlasting serfdom). But in this large army of 60,000 royal tenants and mercenaries there was hardly an Englishman on whose fidelity John could depend. The people bitterly hated him as the cause of the

interdict, and despised and abhorred him like a leper as stricken with the ban of the Church. Aware of the hatred of his people, the king wavered, his heart at the last moment sank within him. He received Pandulph on May 13, 1213, and accepted the peace formula, swore to admit Stephen Langton to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and to grant a free return and full restoration to all the exiles and prisoners, clergy and laymen, who had suffered for the Church, whilst the Pope promised to revoke the interdict and the excommunication and to allow the returning bishops to swear anew fealty to the king.

But John did more than he was asked to do. On the 15th of May, he bound himself "of his own free will and with the unanimous consent of his barons" to grant England and Ireland to Innocent III. to be held of the Pope in fee by the annual rent of 1,000 marks with the reservation to himself and his heirs of all the rights of the crown. The papal legate, accordingly, prohibited Philip to embark for England.

John was absolved from excommunication, and the interdict was formally lifted when the terms of the treaty of Dover had been complied with.

It is certain that the peace formula drawn up by Innocent did not contain a syllable about a transfer of England. The words of John's diploma are: "Desiring to humble ourselves for the sake of him who humbled himself even unto death, and inspired by the grace of the Holy Ghost we confer and freely grant the kingdom of England, etc., to God and the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and the Holy Roman Church and the lord Pope Innocent and his Catholic successors, not by force of the interdict nor compelled by any fear, but by our own good and spontaneous will and by the common advice of our barons, etc." Two motives which probably induced John to place England in a semi-feudal relation to the Apostolic See are mentioned by contemporary writers: he desired to secure himself through the protection of the Holy See (a) against an invasion of Philip Augustus, and (b) against a possible rebellion in England. The common advice of the barons is easily explained by their hope of more effectively providing for the peace and security of England, under the authority of Innocent III. Nay, the deputies sent by the barons to Rome a few years later to present new charges against the king, openly asserted that John had been compelled by the nobles to acknowledge Innocent in some sort as his suzerain. Besides, the new relation was at best semi-feudal, founded on the payment of a moderate tribute; for homage and fealty is nowhere mentioned, neither in the document of

transfer nor in later transactions. The agents of England who worked strenuously for the abolition of the tribute, etc., in the General Council of Lyons, 1245, never mentioned fealty and homage in their list of grievances. Neither can the charge be upheld that John's submission in that age was a dishonor to England. When Peter of Aragon in 1204 went to Rome to be crowned by Innocent, he declared his kingdom *stipendiary* to the Holy See. The powerful Henry II., a strong upholder of English honor, felt no scruple in writing to Alexander III., 1173: "The kingdom of England belongs to your jurisdiction. I am held and bound to you by the obligation of feudal rights. May the Roman Pontiff with his spiritual sword protect the Patrimony of St. Peter," i. e., England. (Baronius, Annals to the Year 1173, No. 10.)

542. Battle of Bovines and Its Consequences, 1214. — John now made a last attempt to reconquer his former possessions in France with the help of his allies. But whilst John was defeated in Poitou by prince Louis, the son of Philip II., the decisive battle was fought in the north, at Bovines near Tournai. Here king Philip II. commanding the chivalry of France and their retainers, numbering about 50,000 men, gained an overwhelming victory over the allied forces, 100,000 strong, commanded respectively by Otto IV., William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, and the rebellious counts of Boulogne, Flanders and Holland and the duke of Brabant, as Lower Lorraine was now called. The battle of Bovines crushed the pretensions of the great feudatory lords, secured to Philip the permanent dominion over Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine and Poitou, and left only the southern part of Aquitaine in the hands of John and his successors. It roused more than any former event the national feeling of the French, united the different provinces in common obedience to the Capetian House, and increased enormously the royal power, because it made the king both the monarch and the direct feudal lord of the most vigorous provinces. For he joined to the crown not only the conquered provinces but numerous fiefs of vassals who had fallen on his own side.

543. The Great Charter of Liberties. — Still more disastrous to the king than the defeat itself was its reaction on England. The bishops and barons had long sought for a constitutional safeguard against the tyranny of John. Stephen Langton placed himself at the head of the movement. In the Council of London,

1213, he brought forward the almost forgotten charter of Henry I. The barons formed a confederation, and the Archbishop formulated their demands and laid them before the king. The king rejected the proposals. The confederates then constituted themselves the "Army of God and of the Holy Church." It increased rapidly, and London opened its gates to the barons. All classes of freemen took part in the national movement, because all were to be benefited by it. Deserted by his court, John saw himself compelled to sign and seal the Magna Carta, or Great Charter of Liberties, at Runnymede, near London, June 15, 1215.

The Great Charter was drawn up in a spirit of fairness to all, and of disinterestedness on the part of the bishops and barons. The first of the sixty-three articles secures the rights and the privileges of the Church, and the freedom of ecclesiastical election. Other articles provided securities for personal freedom. "No freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go against him or send against him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. To none will we sell or deny or delay right or justice." Others fixed the rate of payments due by the vassal to his lord or by the tenant-in-chief to the king. Save in some specific cases the king could demand no money and supplies from his vassals without the consent of the Common Council of the kingdom. Others, again, presented rules for national taxation and for the summoning of the barons and bishops to the Great Council, the incipient Parliament of England. The Charter bound the barons to treat their own dependents as it bound the king to treat the barons. Among the few dangerous clauses there was one, the sixty-sixth, which was bound to meet the opposition of the Church. It empowered twenty-five barons, to be chosen by the whole baronage, *to levy war against the king* with the help of the community of the whole realm, if the king refuse justice on any claim laid before him *by four of their number*. This article — little less than a sanction of rebellion — would have plunged England into endless anarchy, as similar constitutional clauses did in Hungary and Poland.

544. Innocent III. and the Charter. — Innocent III. upon the appeal of both parties rejected the Magna Carta because the barons had defied the king with force of arms at a time when John, having promised to join a Crusade, stood under the Truce of God. England having become a fief of the Holy See, the king could not give away the rights of the crown without the consent of his feudal superior. Besides, the Pope was ill-informed about affairs in England and unduly influenced by his legates in England who, gained over by John, reported more favorably about him than he de-

served. Innocent promised, however, to take care that the crown should be content with its just rights, and the clergy and the people should enjoy their ancient liberties. The Magna Carta as reissued under Henry III., and approved by the Church, became the foundation of English liberties, when the power to force the king and a few other exaggerated claims of the barons were dropped.

545. Death of John, 1216. — The barons clung to the Magna Carta, even after Innocent III. had excommunicated them. While the king with his foreign marauders devastated England, especially the north, his barons offered the crown to prince Louis of France. Louis landed in 1216, and notwithstanding the published censures of the Church, received the homage of his friends at London. John defending the remnants of his kingdom against the advances of Louis, died at Newark in October, 1216. The worst king England had ever seen disappeared from the scene. It became soon apparent, that the party of Louis had only one link of union, the hatred inspired by John. The national party staunchly supported by Honorius III., the successor of Innocent III., and by the legate Gualo, had young Henry III. crowned at Gloucester and Bristol, and reissued with a few important omissions the Great Charter in his name. William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, was appointed governor of the king and kingdom. The party of Louis constantly decreased while the party of Henry III. increased. The battle at Lincoln decided for Henry; the fleet which was to bring foreign succor to Louis, was dispersed off the island of Thanet, and Louis made peace with the English and went home, 1217.

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§ 6.

THE ALBIGENSIAN WARS.

546 Causes of the Albigensian Heresy. — Whilst Catholic enthusiasm was still sending out expedition after expedition to spread Latin Christianity in the East, a heresy more dangerous than the Islam was gathering strength in the West. Remnants of ancient Manichaeism had been lurking for centuries in Bulgaria, Croatia, the mountains of northern Italy, and especially in southern France. In the flourishing provinces of Aquitaine, Toulouse, and the Arelate, nature abundantly provided for the necessaries and luxuries of life without the need of much labor, and thus offered ample leisure for the pursuit of a more polite but also a more corrupt and licentious civilization than was the case in less favored countries. It was precisely in these regions that unworthy ecclesiastics, high and low, disgraced their office by luxury, pride, lust, and avarice, and created scandals which were the more severely criticized, as a spirit of political independence, mingled with democratic and even communistic tendencies, was everywhere astir in the rising cities. Under these circumstances it was easy for Manichaean emissaries coming from the East to kindle the embers of heresy into a conflagration which threatened the existence both of the Church and of the State. The new sectaries called themselves Cathari, the Pure, or Albigenses, from the town of Albi, the center of their activity.

547. The Albigensian System. — The foundation of their system was the old Pagan and Manichaean Dualism, assuming two first principles, a good God, the creator of the spiritual world, and an evil god, the creator of the material world. Some maintained that both these principles were eternal and independent, others, that the creator of the visible world, the origin of evil and the author of the Old Testament, was a fallen angel. Consequently they denied the dogmas of creation, the incarnation, the resurrection of the body, all the sacraments, the whole system of Christian redemption. The most advanced Cathari of France held that Christ himself was created by the evil spirit. They rejected the authority both of the Church and of the State, and made no secret of their hostility to the whole order of society. They organized a hierarchy of their own, and had a sort of pope, who in the earlier part of the thirteenth century resided somewhere on the lower Danube and later in the domain of Toulouse. As they considered Christian baptism an invention of the evil principle, a small number of the initiated called "the Perfect" administered by the imposition of their hands a spiritual baptism, the *consolamentum*, which freed the soul from the power of matter and the guilt of sin without penance or restitution. By far the greatest number, however, were mere *Believers*, who promised to receive the consolamentum before death; meanwhile they could give full rein to all their passions. To preserve the consolamentum, which once lost by a

relapse into sin could never be regained, many underwent the *Endura*, i. e., they starved themselves or caused their death by bleeding, poison, or other violent means. Parents put their children, and children their parents, under the Endura, and such suicides were venerated as martyrs and confessors. Their moral code was a positive incitement to vice. According to their teaching the Decalogue owed its origin to the evil god; Moses, the patriarchs and prophets, and St. John the Baptist, were agents of the spirit of darkness. The majority of the Cathari rejected matrimony as essentially evil, but allowed and practiced free love without restriction as to any degree of relationship. A strict discipline of external abstinence concealed to the public the rottenness of their lives. It is evident, that no Christian community, however tolerant in religion, could allow the spread of such a sect.

The Waldenses, founded by Peter Waldo of Lyons, hence also called the Poor of Lyons, were originally a society of rigorists, who became schismatics in 1215, and gradually assumed various heresies, but at the present period they formed a harmless sect, compared with the Albigensians.

548. A Crusade Organized Against the Albigenses. — For thirty years peaceful means were tried to convert them. Men of apostolic life and zeal like Diego, bishop of Osma, and the Spanish canon, St. Dominic, preached in the infected districts. Thirty members of the Cistercian Order, among them twelve abbots, assisted them in their mission. Numerous individual conversions were effected, but the strong political organization of the sect remained unimpaired. More than a thousand towns and villages of southern France were infected; nearly all the nobles were "believers." Raymond VI. of Toulouse, the great-grandson of the hero of the first Crusade, was their most powerful protector. Not only the arms of the freebooting barons but hordes of lawless marauders, called Brabançons, were in their service. The nobles who were not personally heretics, aided them politically, as the traditional opponents of Capetian France. The murder of the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau in January, 1208, by a knight of Raymond of Toulouse, brought the Albigensian question to an issue. Innocent III. called upon the king and barons of France to undertake a crusade against these infidels and rebels, "worse than Moslem." Raymond of Toulouse was excommunicated. When he heard of the warlike preparation going on in the north of France, he became frightened and promised under oath to give full satisfaction to the Church, and was absolved.

549. The Albigensian Wars to the Fourth Lateran Council. — Simon of Montfort just returning from the fourth Crusade was appointed commander-in-chief of the crusading army, numbering, if we may believe contemporary authors, 200,000 foot and 25,000 horse. The first attack was made on viscount Roger of Béziers, a fierce promoter of heresy. Whilst the army was camping before Béziers and the barons were negotiating with the citizens, a mob of troopers without order or command stormed the walls, slew without mercy, and destroyed a part of the city. After the fall of Béziers the Crusaders took Carcassonne and overran the domain of the viscount. Roger, who was captured soon after, succumbed to a fever. The papal legates conferred the conquered territory on Simon of Montfort. Thus ended the first campaign. Meanwhile Raymond VI. had broken his sworn engagements with Innocent and reassumed the protection of the Albigensians. Accordingly the war was renewed with increased bitterness because the men of the south now fought against Simon not only in defense of their heresy, but from hatred of French domination. Simon gradually conquered the greater part of Raymond's territory and captured Toulouse, the capital itself, in 1214. A second time, Raymond VI., with his son Raymond (VII.), submitted to the Church in the IV. Lateran Council. The desire of Innocent III. to save the inheritance of the Raymonds was overruled by the Council which adjudged the conquered lands to Simon of Montfort, and reserved the rest under competent administration for Raymond VII. As count of Toulouse and duke of Narbonne, Simon distributed many of his fiefs amongst northern lords who introduced the customs of Capetian France in the south and brought the countries of the Languedoc into closer union with the rest of France than they had ever been before.

550. The Albigensian Wars After the Lateran Council. — The promises made in the Council sat lightly on the Raymonds. They again took the field against Simon in 1217, and reconquered Toulouse in 1218. It was during these troubles in 1215 that St. Dominic founded in Toulouse the famous Order of the Dominican Friars. Whilst the war was dragging on its weary length, new men gradually appeared on the scene. Innocent III. had been succeeded

by Honorius III. in 1216. Simon of Montfort fell in the second siege of Toulouse, 1218, leaving the continuation of the war to his eldest son Aumery. Raymond VI. on his death-bed left his conquests to Raymond VII. in 1222. Louis VIII. succeeded Philip Augustus in 1223. As Aumery of Montfort was unable to cope with count Raymond VII., supported as he was by all the heretical and political malcontents of southern France, he ceded all his claims to Louis VIII. The helplessness of Aumery and the appeals of Honorius III. induced Louis VIII. once more to take the cross against the Albigensians. His victorious march to the walls of Toulouse was brought to a halt by the outbreak of a plague to which he himself succumbed. The desultory war, continued under the regency of Blanche of Castile, the mother of St. Louis, came to a close in the Peace of Meaux, 1229. Raymond was confirmed in the possession of his county of Toulouse, but yielded the larger part of his domains to the crown of France, swore fidelity to the Church and the king, and promised to suppress heresy in his dominion and to endow the University of Toulouse which Gregory IX. had founded. This University, the first founded by a Pope, became a chief means of restoring the orthodox faith in the south of France. The marriage of Raymond's daughter with Alphonso, the younger brother of St. Louis, secured Toulouse to the Capetian House.

To counteract the spread of heresy, the Council of Toulouse in 1229 instituted the Tribunal of Inquisition. The bishops appointed a clergyman and some laymen in every parish to denounce the members suspected of heresy. The Inquisitor had to examine into the truth of the charge, to reconcile the converts to the Church, and to deliver obstinate heretics to the secular power which in conformity with the general laws of the time passed and executed a sentence of high treason. (Episcopal Inquisition.) For as long as the unity of faith and the co-operation of Church and State for the higher interests of religion lasted, heresy in the Church was treason to the State. Gregory IX. in 1233 charged the Dominicans with the office of the Papal Inquisition.*

551. Character of Philip Augustus; His Conflict with Innocent III. — Philip combined in his character steady activity with hot-tempered passion, unscrupulous cunning with merciless cruelty, external practice of piety and

* For a more detailed account of the Inquisition, episcopal, papal and Spanish, cf. v. II., bk. I.

open-handed liberality towards the Church, with long continued defiance of her moral code. His matrimonial relations involved him in a conflict of fifteen years with Innocent III. In 1193 he married Ingeborg, the sister of Canute IV. of Denmark. But conceiving a sudden and unreasoning aversion for his wife, he removed her from his court and obtained the same year a divorce from a compliant council of bishops on the plea of some remote kinship. Although Celestine III., appealed to by the king of Denmark and his timid and helpless daughter, pronounced the divorce null and void, Philip, in 1196, took to wife Agnes of Meran, heiress of Tyrol. As soon as Innocent III. ascended the Chair of St. Peter, he addressed a strong letter to the king: "Send Bertha beyond the limits of France, and recall your lawful wife, and then we will hear all that you can righteously urge. If you do not do this, no power shall move us to the right or to the left till justice be done" (1198). But despite repeated admonitions Philip persevered in his unholy union until Innocent pronounced the interdict on all his dominions (January, 1200). But although the king for a time cruelly harassed prelates, barons and people, the interdict was so strictly obeyed, that the king had to give way. In a vast concourse of prelates, barons and people at St. Léger he introduced Ingeborg as queen of France and swore to treat her as such. Thereupon the papal legate removed the interdict to the great joy of the nation (September, 1200). But the king's conversion was of short duration. Very soon after the assembly of St. Léger, he again imprisoned his wife, and though Bertha died in 1201, kept her for years in strict but honorable confinement. Meanwhile he set three times the whole machinery of the canon law in motion to obtain a divorce from the Holy See, but Innocent III. remained inflexible, and his constancy finally prevailed. In 1213 Philip reconciled himself with his wife and thereby with the Church, and henceforth accorded to Ingeborg all the rights of wife and queen.

552. **Government of Philip Augustus.** — The reign of Philip is chiefly important on account of the vast growth of kingly power. The doubling of the royal domain and the increased work of its administration induced him to establish a new royal office, that of the baillis. Heretofore the prévôts had held local courts and collected the taxes in the king's name. Now a bailli was placed over several prévôts who was to hold monthly assizes, make frequent reports to the king, and deliver the moneys collected in his bailiwick into the royal treasury. Philip strengthened the alliance of the crown with the communes, issued many charters to cities and towns, contributed to their fortifications, and carefully fostered their industries and commerce. He made Paris the first great capital of a modern State, and granted the first royal charter to its University.

553. **Louis VIII., 1223-1226.** — Louis VIII was like his father only in personal prowess; in all other regards he was the very opposite of Philip: deeply pious, chaste, truthful and just, — worthy to be the father of St. Louis. The

exploits of his life are easily summed up in his early warfare under Simon of Montfort, his English campaign against John Lackland, the three years' administration of his kingdom, the reconquest of Poitou, and his last Albigensian crusade.

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§ 7.

THE CRUSADES OF CATHOLIC SPAIN.

554 Review of Spanish History. — The history of Spain might be called one long Crusade on the part of the Christians, who were winning back the land step by step from the Saracens and Moors. The Spanish Caliphate at the height of its greatness in power, arts, and science in the tenth century (Abderrhaman III., 912–961) came to an end in 1061, and was cut up into several kingdoms. The Christians began to conquer back the land. They had in the course of time formed five small states: Leon and Castile, sometimes united, sometimes divided; Navarre, a border state in the Pyrenees; Aragon, originally a Frankish county; and Catalonia or the county of Barcelona, which grew out of the Spanish Mark, and became independent after the death of Charles the Bald. Under Sancho the Great (1000–1035) who for a time united Navarre, Aragon, Leon and Castile, Spain by its intimate union with Rome and Cluny, was introduced into the brotherhood of mediaeval states. Alfonso VI. of Leon and Castile (1065–1090) won back the ancient Visigothic capital Toledo (1085). The Saracens, terrified by the loss of Toledo, called the Moors from Africa to help them; at their head came the dynasty of the Almoravides (fighters for the faith), the founders of Marocco. With an army of fierce nomads of the desert they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, annihilated the army of Alfonso VI. at Zallaca, 1086, and checked for a time the Christian advance. It was in these wars that Roderigo Diaz di Bivar, called Cid or lord by the Arabs, el Campeador or champion by the Christians, held Valencia against the Moslem to his death (1099), and became the terror of the Mohammedans, the mirror of Christian chivalry, and the national hero of Spain. In 1118 Alfonso

Sánchez, the founder of the greatness of Aragon, conquered Saragossa, the chief city of eastern Spain, which gave new importance to the kingdom of Aragon, while in the same year the Catalonians captured the important city of Tarragona. Aragon and Catalonia were united in 1137.

555. The Kingdom of Portugal, 1143. — Count Henry, a grandson of Robert of Burgundy, who was married to a daughter of Alfonso VI. of Castile, was in 1095 invested with the lands between the rivers Minho and Douro, which from the harbor town of Portus Cale obtained the name of Portugal. Alfonso Henriquez, the grandson of Henry, made himself independent of Castile. Chosen hereditary king after a brilliant victory over the infidels, 1139, he was crowned in the first Assembly of the States General, 1143, and acknowledged by Alexander III. Assisted by a fleet of English and German Crusaders on their way to join the second Crusade, Alfonso stormed Lisbon in 1147 and made it the capital of the new kingdom.

556 **Orders of Knighthood.** — St. Bernard of Clairvaux infused a new spirit into the Spanish Crusades. He established his Order in Spain and under Cistercian guidance the distinctly Spanish Orders of Knighthood arose. They received their names from the cities which they guarded against the infidels. The Order of Calatrava, the holy soldiery of Citeaux, and those of Alcontara and Avis in Portugal were affiliated with the Cistercians. Only the Order of Santiago, the most renowned of the Spanish military brotherhoods, founded under the patronage of Alexander III. and Innocent III. were independent of Citeaux. The Spanish Knights were assisted in their warfare by the Templars and Knights of St. John, who had established themselves in the valley of the Ebro. These Orders, inspired by religious zeal, fought the infideis with indefatigable bravery, whilst they abstained from mingling in the private wars and feuds of the kings and secular nobles.

557. The Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, 1212. — The year 1160 brought a new Moslem power to Spain, the Almohades, "the United," Berbers of the Atlas who had overthrown the Almoravides in Africa. They gained many battles over the Christians, the most bloody in 1185 at Alarcos over Alfonso VIII. of Castile. The Almohades at the summit of their power threatened the very existence of Christian Spain, for they stood united against a disunited pentarchy. The laxity with which the marriage laws of the Church were disregarded by many secular princes, gave rise to interminable

feuds. It required the strong hand of Innocent III. to create order out of chaos. He punished the offenders without respect of persons; he reconciled the parties by his fervent appeals to union; he called on France and Germany to aid the Spaniards; 10,000 knights and 100,000 foot from France and Austria answered to his call. The kings of Aragon, Castile, Navarre and the Infante (prince heir) of Portugal met the enemy in the great battle at Las Navas de Tolosa, the "Triumph of the Cross;" 200,000 Almohades according to Christian sources, and many more according to Moslem reports, remained dead on the battle-field. This victory broke the aggressiveness of the Almohades, and secured forever the preponderance of Christianity in Spain.

558. Further Christian Conquests. — Ferdinand III., the Saint (1217–1252), finally united Castile and Leon, and won back Cordova and Seville with many other cities, and reached the Atlantic by the capture of Xeres and Cadiz. His contemporary in Aragon, James the Conqueror (1213–1276), conquered the Balearic Islands, the city and kingdom of Valencia, which the Moslem had reconquered from the widow of the Cid. In alliance with Alfonso X. the Wise, the brilliant son and successor of Ferdinand the Saint, he completed the conquest of Murcia, and peopled the conquered territories with Catalanes. By his law of 1248 all the Moslem had to leave his states and to retire to the last and only kingdom of the Mohammedans, the kingdom of Granada. The Christians held and extended, besides Aragon and Castile, the kingdoms of Navarre and Portugal. Henceforth the internal development of the peninsular kingdoms fell into line with that of the rest of Europe.

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§ 8.

THE FIFTH CRUSADE AND THE ADVENTURE OF FREDERIC II.

559. The Fifth Crusade, 1217–1221. — The last great work of Innocent III. was the XII. General Council, IV. of the Lateran. The Council condemned the current heresies, and passed seventy excellent canons for the promotion of Catholic life and piety. The chief object was the organization of a new Crusade. James de Vitry, later bishop of Acre, and the English Cardinal Robert de Curzon, were foremost in the work of preaching the Crusade. In 1217 Andrew, king of Hungary, Leopold, duke of Austria, William, count of Holland, and the English earl Ranulf of Chester, joined the three eastern kings of Cyprus, Armenia and Jerusalem at Acre. King Andrew of Hungary, accompanied by many Austrian and German lords, undertook a Crusade into the interior, but his repulse before the fortress of Mount Tabor discouraged him, and he returned home. Duke Leopold of Austria and others remained in Syria and were joined at Acre by fresh arrivals of Saxon and Frisian Crusaders. With the available forces of Syria and the aid of the armed pilgrims who had gathered at Acre, John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, set out for Egypt to secure Palestine by defeating the Sultan in his own home. The reinforcements sent by Honorius III., the successor of Innocent III., from every part of Europe, enabled the Crusaders to take Damietta, the key of Egypt, in 1219. But when the Christian army advanced against Cairo, the enemy opened the sluices of the Nile at Mansurah, and forced the Crusaders to conclude a peace of eight years and to evacuate Damietta.

560. **Frederic II. and Honorius III.** — One of the chief causes of this failure was the studied delay of Frederic II. to fulfill his vow of a Crusade. After the conquest of Damietta el Kamel had offered the Crusaders the kingdom of Jerusalem in exchange for Damietta. The only reason why the Crusaders declined the offer was their expectation that Frederic would redeem his promise. But Frederic had other plans. The young king was as proud and ambitious as he was highly educated. He spoke German, Italian, Greek, Latin and Saracen, and was fully up to the literary and scientific standard of the age. But his political training by Ghibelline lawyers and politicians and his association with Saracen women made him the sensualist, the tyrant and the freethinker and scoffer, who dallied with the most sacred oaths

and obligations. The task which he set before him, was to destroy the freedom of the Italian municipalities, to unite all Italy and Germany into one hereditary Empire, and to rule as absolute monarch over Church and State. Remaining north of the Alps till he had consolidated his power at home, he proceeded to Rome in 1220, was crowned Emperor by Honorius III. and solemnly renewed his vow of a Crusade. With Honorius he played a double game. Both before and after his coronation, his letters were full of protestations of gratitude, filial love and obedience, but his acts gave them the lie. He united the crowns of Germany and Sicily, established a military colony of Saracens at Lucera, a standing menace to the neighboring papal territories, and oppressed the clergy of the south and the cities of the north with despotic laws. He postponed the Crusade from year to year, though affairs in the East went from bad to worse. In 1225 he renewed his vow of crossing the sea, acknowledging in advance and under oath the justice of an excommunication if he should not sail within two years. "Despite the incredible forbearance of the Pope, the lying and chicanery of the Emperor wantonly provoked a rupture." But before the gentle Honorius had time to take severer measures, death called him to a better life.

561. **Frederic and Gregory IX** — Honorius III. was succeeded by Gregory IX. (1227–1241), a man of the highest character, a Pontiff of the stamp of his kinsman, Innocent III. He strongly urged Frederic to fulfill his repeated promises of a Crusade, and gave him sound advice regarding his private life. The Crusaders in 1227 were fast gathering at Brindisi, — the Germans under the pious Ludwig of Thuringia, the husband of St. Elisabeth; 60,000 had come from England, — and still Frederic delayed, though his delay exposed the Crusaders to the heat and malignant fevers of southern Italy. At last he embarked in September, sailed a few miles and again landed at Otranto, and retired to Puteoli to enjoy the baths. Ludwig of Thuringia had suddenly died in his company, of fever, or, as the rumor went out, of poison administered by Frederic. The rumor shows at least, what Frederic was thought capable of by his contemporaries. Most of the Crusaders, decimated by the pestilence, went home in disgust, those who had sailed to Syria returned. Frederic postponed the Crusade for another year, and excused his new — *the tenth* — perjury by the plea of sickness. But the real reason was that the secret negotiations which he carried on with Malek el Kamel, had not yet reached a favorable issue. His excuses availed him little, for Gregory IX. pronounced in 1227 and again in 1228 the excommunication, which Frederic himself had provoked.

562. The Adventure of Frederic II., 1228–1229. — Without seeking absolution Frederic undertook his strange expedition to the East in July, 1228, at the head of only 20 vessels and one hundred knights, more like a pirate than a great king. Before

leaving he excited his partisans at Rome to expel the Pope from the city, and organized an army of vassals and Saracens under Raynald of Spoleto to invade the Patrimony of St. Peter. Avoided at Acre by the clergy and the Orders of Knighthood he proceeded to Jaffa. Instead of fighting he spent his time in negotiating with his friend Malek el Kamel, and disporting himself with the Saracen harem, whom the wily sultan had sent him. After long negotiations he finally concluded the disgraceful truce of 1229. Frederic personally, not the Crusaders in the East, obtained a nominal possession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, places which the Christians were not allowed to fortify. Solomon's temple (Omar's mosque) was to be open to Christians and Moslem. The church of the Templars was handed over to the Turks. The cities and provinces of Antioch and Tripoli, excluded from the truce, were left to the mercy of the enemy. The hands of the Christians were bound for ten years by a truce to which they had not consented. And lastly, Malek el Kamel ceded only such places to Frederic as belonged to the Sultan of Damascus who vigorously protested against the whole transaction. The truce being concluded Frederick went to Jerusalem, and placed the crown of the kingdom on his head with his own hands, without priest, prayer or ceremony. After displaying his sympathies for the Islam by visiting the Mohammedan mosque he returned to Acre, whence he sailed for Italy, stripping the Holy Land of its defenders by peremptorily ordering all the Crusaders to depart with him. How futile and hollow the whole undertaking was, became manifest the following year, when the Saracens stormed Jerusalem and filled it with slaughter and pillage.

For the last time the Christians obtained possession of Jerusalem in 1244 by treaties with the rulers of Kerak and Damascus, whose lands were threatened by the Sultan of Egypt. "The sacred mysteries were celebrated daily in all the holy places," writes a contemporary, "wherein for fifty-six years God had not been invoked." But the same year the great disaster overtook the Latins which proved fatal to the remnants of the Christian kingdom.

Michaud, Archer and Kingsford, and other *General Histories of the Crusades* — The *Histories of Frederic II.* — Roehricht: *Die Kreuzbewegung im Jahre 1217* (*Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*); *Belagerung von Damietta* (*Raumer's Hist. Taschenbuch*); *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges.* — Wm. Besant and E. H. Palmer: *Jerusalem.*

§ 9.

FREDERIC II. AND THE PAPACY.

563. The Peace of San Germano, 1230. — During Frederic's absence Gregory IX. gathered an army against Raynald of Spoleto, the imperial vicar of Italy, who wasted the Patrimony of St. Peter with the Saracen soldiery whom the Emperor had placed at his disposal. The commander of the papal troops, the gallant John of Brienne, drove Raynald from the States of the Church and invaded Apulia. But Frederic returning from Palestine, expelled him from his territory and invaded the Papal States. Having thus saved his military prestige, he opened negotiations for peace in order to prevent a coalition of the Church with the enemies of his House. Through the mediation of Herman of Salza, the grandmaster of the Teutonic Order, he concluded, in 1230, the peace of San Germano, in which he promised to make restitution to the Patrimony, the clergy and the monasteries which had been despoiled, to recall the bishops driven from their sees, to respect the freedom of ecclesiastical elections and to acknowledge the feudal dependencies of the two Sicilies on the Holy See. Thereupon he was absolved from excommunication, visited Gregory IX. at Anagni and was full of praise for the benevolence with which he was received by the great Pontiff. The peace, although frequently violated by the Emperor, lasted till 1236, because the Pope used the utmost forbearance, to reclaim the wayward prince.

564. **Frederic's Italian and German Policy.** — The tenacity with which Ferderic strove to establish a personal despotism — in Sicily by severe laws and a reign of terror, in Lombardy by the brutal warfare of Ghibelline captains against the cities — brought him into new conflicts with the laws of the Church. He introduced burning as the ordinary and legal method of executing heretics. His scheme was to identify the Italian Guelphs with the heretics of Lombardy, to involve them in a common destruction and to brand the Pope, the protector of the municipal rights of the Lombards, in public opinion as a protector of heresy. But before his plans were fully matured, a rebellion of his son Henry, in 1234, called Frederic to Germany. Henry had been crowned king of the Romans in 1222 by St. Engelbert of Koeln. As long as the holy Archbishop wielded his powerful influence in northern Germany, peace was maintained at home and abroad. The Danes

under Valdemar II. were driven from the districts which they had occupied as the allies of Otto IV. But in 1225 St. Engelbert was murdered by a band of robber knights on account of his stern maintenance of public order. With the weak and capricious rule of young Henry a reign of feudal insolence, confusion and anarchy set in. His father, Frederic II., who trampled on every feudal right and municipal liberty in Italy, pursued an opposite course in dealing with Germany. He strengthened the power of the territorial princes, the great feudatories and prelates at the expense of the cities and lower or official nobility, and bestowed on them new regal and legislative powers. But the commercial cities had already grown too wealthy and strong to sacrifice their privileges without a trial of resistance. Henry allied himself with the towns and lower nobility against his father and the territorial princes. Gregory IX. gave the best proof of his good will towards the Emperor by firmly upholding his cause against his rebellious son. When Frederic arrived in Germany, 1235, he easily quelled the revolt and punished his son with life-long imprisonment in Apulia. In 1242 the prisoner ended his confinement and life by spurring his horse into an abyss.

565. Third Great Conflict Between the Papacy and the Empire. — With Frederic's last return to Italy, 1237, began the third great conflict between the Papacy and the Empire. The cynicism and cruelty with which it was carried on by Frederic and the Ghibellines were quite a new feature in the history of the Middle Ages. But neither Frederic's victory over the Lombard League at Cortenuova, 1237, nor the brutal cruelties of his captain and son-in-law, Ezzelino of Romano, committed in the captured cities, could effect a general submission of the Lombard League. Brescia, Milan, Bologna, Genoa, Venice, stood firm against the Emperor. Gregory IX. raised his voice for the oppressed, concluded a treaty of mutual support with the allied cities, and excommunicated Frederic II., and for the first time absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, publishing the reasons for his actions.

The Emperor had imprisoned the nephew of the king of Tunis while on his way to Rome to receive baptism; he had frequently violated the Peace of San Germano; he had excited revolts in Rome against the head of the Church (1236); he had forcibly retained embassadors from and to the Holy See, and imprisoned a papal legate; he had tyrannized over the Church in Sicily, kept twenty bishoprics vacant, proscribed and executed clergymen, desecrated and destroyed churches through his Mohammedan soldiery; he had made his natural son Enzio king of Sardinia in violation of the rights of the Holy See; he had scandalized Christendom by his Saracen immorality,

by giving currency to the blasphemous saying that the world had been duped by three imposters, Moses, Mohammed and Christ, and by his denial of the virginal conception of our Lord; such were the charges which proved both the long continued patience of the Church and the justice of the punishment.

566. A General Council Prevented by Frederic. — Many cities and over a hundred Ghibelline lords of northern Italy abandoned the cause of the Emperor and were placed under the ban of the Empire. Leaving the war in Lombardy to Enzio, Frederic invaded the Patrimony of St. Peter but failed in stirring up the Romans to a new revolt. They even took the cross in defense of Gregory IX. and Frederic had to march south. When Gregory once more saw his offers of a reconciliation treated with scorn, he summoned a General Council to Rome to meet in 1241. The Emperor himself had appealed to a General Council. But as soon as the summons was issued, he sent out orders to man the passes of the Alps against Germany and France, to patrol the sea with the aid of Pisa's fleet, and to capture every prelate going to Rome. The Genoese flotilla carrying the French, English and Spanish bishops, and a great number of Fathers to the Council, was defeated and captured by Enzio off Elba. Of those who escaped with their lives, three Cardinals, over 100 bishops or episcopal delegates, the deputies of Lombardy and 4,000 Genoese were thrown into Frederic's loathsome Apulian dungeons, in which many died of ill-treatment. The French bishops owed their speedy release to the stern demands of Louis IX., the Saint. Just at the time, when the Mongols rushed through eastern Europe threatening Germany and all western Europe, Frederic, the sworn defender of Christendom, marched against Rome, to seize the person of the Pontiff. But before he reached the city Gregory IX., who had hitherto preserved the vigor, constancy and enthusiasm of youth, succumbed to the cares of his office at the age of nearly a hundred years (1241).

His successor, Celestine IV., died sixteen days after his election. Frederic prevented a new election till 1243, when Innocent IV. was chosen at Anagni. Sweet words of the Emperor to the Pope (1243) were followed by false accusations (1243), by invasion, violence and war (1244), by a new peace broken as soon as it was sworn (1244). All hope of a reconciliation having vanished, Innocent fled with the Cardinals to France, was received with great honors by St. Louis, and chose Lyons for his residence. The im-

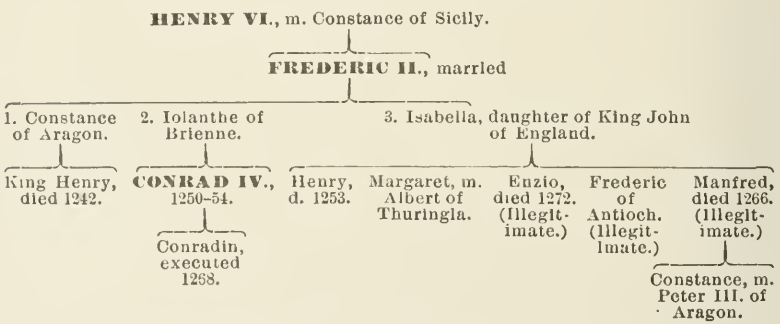
perial power over the Arelate had waned to such a degree that he was perfectly safe in the Burgundian city.

567. The XIII. General Council, I. of Lyons, 1245. — Innocent summoned to Lyons the Council which Frederic's sacrilege had prevented to meet at Rome. The Cardinal, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Aquileia, and about 250 Archbishops and bishops, met in the cathedral under the presidency of the Pope and in the presence of the Latin Emperor, Baldwin II. The points of deliberation were the defense of Christendom against the invading Mongols, the termination of the Eastern Schism, the extirpation of heresy, the organization of a new Crusade and the case of Frederic II. His representative, Thaddaeus of Suessa, lavished the most extravagant promises on the assembled fathers to avert the Emperor's excommunication by a General Council. But when Innocent put the simple question: "Would the Emperor loyally stand by the terms of the former peace already sanctioned by his oath?" — Thaddaeus had to send to Italy for an answer. For this, time was granted him. But Frederic, notified of the questions, cursed Pope and Council, and rejected its competency to judge him. Accordingly Innocent IV., with the unanimous consent of the Council, solemnly excommunicated the Emperor, and ordered a new election in Germany. Four Archbishops and a number of bishops and princes chose Henry of Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, who defeated king Frederic's younger son, Conrad, at Frankfort, 1246, but died the following year. Thereupon the Catholic princes and bishops chose William of Holland, 1247. With this new civil war the times of Philip of Suabia and Otto IV. were renewed in Germany.

568. The Last Years of Frederic II. — Meanwhile Frederic II. continued his struggle in Italy reinforced by the Cathari whom he had formerly burnt at the stake. Enzio, Ezzelino and other Ghibelline captains raged with fire and sword against the Guelphic adherents of the Pope. Frederic was already on the point of crossing the Alps and marching to Lyons, when a formidable insurrection of the Parmesans called him back. Friend and foe flocked to Parma. The long siege of the city, and the building of Victoria, an opposition city, was marked with the hideous cruelty of Frederic. But

finally the Parmesans in a great sally inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ghibellines, drove Frederic into headlong flight, captured his whole harem, and destroyed Victoria, 1248. In 1249 the Bolognese defeated and caught Enzio and imprisoned him for life (d. 1272). The Guelphic party grew from day to day in power and influence. In proportion to Frederic's waning power his cruelty increased and extended itself even to the wives and children of his opponents. His intimate friend and chancellor, Peter de Vineis, who had composed his virulent letters against Gregory and Innocent, was thrown into a dungeon on mere suspicion, and deprived of his sight. To escape further torture he committed suicide. But just when some successes in Germany and Lombardy rekindled Frederic's hopes, he was attacked by dysentery at Fiorentino, not far from his favorite Mohammedan colony of Lucera, and died December 19, 1250. According to the testimony of his son Manfred, who was present at his death, he humbly and with a contrite heart, acknowledged the Holy Roman Church as his mother, made full reparation by will, and received absolution from the Archbishop of Palermo.

569. Family and Character of Frederic II.: —



The character of Frederic II. exhibits many contradictory traits. Courtesy and winning manners went hand in hand with craft and perfidy, oriental effeminacy with despotic cruelty, religious skepticism with sanguinary persecution of heretics. The only permanent fruit of the education which he had received under the direction of Innocent III. was his love of art and literature. He promoted the study of Arab, Italian and German humanities and poetry, composed Italian poems of his own, favored the schools of Naples and Palermo, fostered philosophy, mathematics, natural history and medi-

cine, but allowed himself all the same to be guided by the impostures of astrologers. Under the influence of the half-Greek, half-Arab culture of Sicily, he lost all correct ideas of the nature, the history, and the rights of the Church; his Christian faith gave way to a compound of rationalism and superstition. He regarded the Empire as a sort of occidental Caliphate, himself as a Christian Chalif, a lay-Pope, a vicar of Christ on earth; nay in his visionary dreamings of power and glory, he claimed to be an emanation of the Deity, an imperial messiah, worthy of the adoration of his subjects like the pagan Emperors of Rome. Although he and his House went down in the conflict with the Papacy which he had wantonly provoked, still the conflict itself inflicted serious injury on the Church. The Popes were put to heavy expenses and had to levy large contributions and tithes in all the Catholic countries, which caused manifold grumblings, complaints and attacks upon the Holy See. A new sort of literature, inspired by Frederic, full of hypocrisy and venom, gave wide currency to the false opinion, that the objects of the conflict were merely temporal power and wealth, not the God-given liberty of the Church and the highest interests of the faithful. The anarchy into which Frederic's policy plunged Germany, deprived the Holy See for a long time of its temporal protector, because no Emperor could be crowned for the next sixty-two years. Still this condition was preferable to the unscrupulous tyranny of Frederic II.

B. Jungmann: *De lucta inter Fredericum II. et Romanos Pontifices*, v. 5, Dissert. 28, pp. 393-430. — Card. Hergenroether: *Conflict of Frederic II. with the Church; Catholic Church and Christian State*, vol. 2, II., pp. 18-41. — R. Parsons: *The Cause of Frederic II, and the Thirteenth General Council*, Studies, v. II., pp. 370-86. — J. Clausen: *Honorius III*, also, T. K. Z, '96, p. 693. — J. Felten: *Gregory IX* — Hoefler: *Gregory IX. and Friedrich II.* — Hefele: C. G., vols. V. and VI.; *Beiträge*, v. 1, p. 339. — Hergenroether: K. G., v. I., p. 799, etc. — Damberger: vols. X. and XI. — Brischar-Stolberg: v. 52. — Reumont: *Rom.*, v. II. — Huillard-Brétolles: *Historia diplomatica Frederici II.* (contains all his letters and other acts). — Schirmacher: *Kaiser Friedrich II.* — G. C. Macauley: *Capture of a General Council*, E. H. R., v. 6, p. 1-17. Kington: *History of Frederic II* — Gregorovius: *Hist. of Rome*, v. IX. — Henderson: *Germany*. — G. Blondel: *Etude sur la Politique de l'Empereur Fréd. II. en Allemagne*. — Freeman: *Frederic II*, Essays I. — Duffy: *Story of the Tuscan Republics*. — G. Caro: *Genoa und die Mächte am Mittelmeer*. — Paul Fournier: *Le Royaume d'Arles et de Vienne* (1138-1378).

CHAPTER III.

THE LAST CRUSADES, FROM THE INVASION OF THE MONGOLS TO THE DEATH OF BONIFACE VIII.

§ 1.

THE MONGOL INVASION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

570. Jenghiz Khan. — The power of the Turanian Mongols or Tartars began towards the close of the twelfth century under their chief Temujin who is better known by his honorary title Jenghiz Khan, Chief of the Mighty (1206–1227). The original religion of these heathens was Shamaism or spirit-worship. Wherever they conquered and settled among Moslem, they assumed the Islam. In their warfare they ravaged, slew, and mutilated more cruelly than the Saracens and Turks had ever done; in religion they were more tolerant of other beliefs than either. Jenghiz Khan began his career with an invasion of China, the further conquest of which he left to his generals, while he extended his conquests in a western direction.

571. Battle of Wahlstatt. — His sons and grandsons continued their westward course. A part of the nation entered southern Russia in 1224. Still later, in the reign of Oktai, the son of Jenghiz Khan (1227–1241), Mongol hordes under Batou Khan, a grandson of Temujin overran the regions of Vladimir, Moscow, Novgorod and Kief, carried their horrors into Poland, burnt Cracaw, and invaded Silesia. In the murderous battle of Wahlstatt, 1241, they defeated the Teutonic Knights and the German princes, who in the unnatural absence of Frederic II., had gathered to defend the frontiers of the Empire. The forces of Wenzel, king of Bohemia, Conrad, king of Germany, and Frederic of Austria prevented a further westward advance of the enemy. After a terrible campaign of slaughter and devastation in Hungary, the Mongols hearing of the death of Oktai, withdrew to Asia, leaving the only dynasty which ruled both in Asia

and Europe, at Kasan on the Volga. Thus whilst the Lithuanians conquered the western provinces of Russia, the Russian dukes, first at Vladimir, then at Moscow, became tributaries of the Mongol Khans till 1480, when Ivan III., the Great, freed Russia from their domination.

572. The Chowaresmians — Battle of Gaza, 1244. — While one portion of the Mongols thus pursued their conquests elsewhere, other hordes destroyed the Empire of the Chowaresmians who had occupied the regions between India and the Caspian Sea, under a Seljuk dynasty. The Chowaresmians retreating before the Mongols burst into Syria and took service under Malek el Saleh, the son and successor of Kamel, as his auxiliaries against Damascus and the remnants of the Christian kingdom. In 1244 they suddenly swooped down upon Jerusalem. Christians and Mohammedans united their forces and met the wild destroyers at Gaza. The early flight of the Moslem left the Christians at the mercy of the enemy's overwhelming forces. The Chowaresmians almost annihilated the Christian host with terrible slaughter of the Knights of the three Orders, devastated Jerusalem, plundered the Church of the Resurrection, destroyed that of the Holy Sepulchre, and delivered the bones of the Christian kings to the flames. This invasion was the principal cause of the sixth Crusade led by St. Louis IX. of France.

573. Extent of the Mongol Power. — By further conquests in Asia the Mongols broke up the power of the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor, stormed Bagdad in 1258 and annihilated the Abbaside Caliphate, destroyed the realm of the Assassins, and made the Christians of Armenia and Antioch tributary. The descendants of Jenghiz Khan left four dynasties ruling respectively in China, in the lands beyond the Oxus, in Persia, and at Kasan. The Mongol Empire reached its greatest extent under Kublai Khan, a grandson of Jenghiz Khan, who conquered the whole of China 1259–1295.

H. H. Howorth: *History of the Mongols from the 9th-19th Century*, v 1, ch. 1-5 — On *Mongols under Jenghiz Khan and his Successors*, E. R. 80, 2, p. 41. — E. A. Freeman: *Hist. and Conquests of the Saracens.* — G. Strakosch-Grassmann: *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mittel Europa* in 1241 and 1242. — A. Vambéry: *History of Bokhara*, ch 8. — C. R. Markham: *Hist. of Persia.* — S. C. Boulger: *Hist. of China*, v. 1, ch. 21. — Sir H. Yule: *Cathay and the Way Thither: Preliminary Essay; Marco Polo: Travels*, with notes by Sir H. Yule.

§ 2.

ST. LOUIS IX. OF FRANCE AND THE LAST CRUSADES.

574. The Family of St. Louis.

LOUIS VIII. m. **BLANCHE OF CASTILE.**
1223–1226 | Regent 1226–1235. and 1248–1252.

LOUIS IX., THE SAINT, 1226–1270.
- Robert, Count of Artois.
- Alphonse, Count of Poitou, Auvergne and Toulouse.
- **CHARLES,** Count of Anjou, Maine, Provence. **KING OF THE SICILIES,** since 1282 **K. OF NAPLES.**

PHILIP III., THE BOLD, 1270–1285.
- Peter, Count of Alençon.
- Robert, Count of Cleremont—en-Beauvasis.

575 St. Louis the Saint, 1226–1270.— Louis ascended the throne at the age of twelve. His saintly mother, the wise and energetic Blanche of Castile, educated him according to the maxim, that she would rather see him dead than that he should entertain even a sinful thought. The noble son repaid the cares of his mother with unbounded docility. His whole life was a prayer; his sole aim to do God's will. His horror of sin was deep and unaffected. He was the soul of honor and chastity. There was in him a depth of sweetness and gentleness, a genuine goodness and purity of heart and life, that won him the love of his people. These qualities were combined with a love of justice and firmness of will which made him inflexible in all cases of right and duty. He had the full share of Capetian bravery and fearlessness in battle. As a Christian and as a man, as a statesman and as a warrior, he was the exemplar of all that was best in his age — the very ideal of a loyal knight and Christian king. During his minority Blanche of Castile, as regent of France, defended the inheritance of her son against the attempts of Henry III. to reconquer the former English possessions with the help of rebellious lords, who were fretting under the rule of a foreign lady. (1230.) When Henry III. invaded the country, 1241, he found in St. Louis a champion and a leader as familiar with the arts of war, as he was eminent in the virtues of peace. Defeated in two battles Henry renounced his claims, paid the expenses of the war, and did homage to Louis as duke of Guienne and peer of France. The vassals who held lands in both countries had to give up either their French or their English fiefs, as they chose.

576. The Sixth Crusade, 1248–1254. — In 1244, the very year when the Chowaresmians stormed Jerusalem St. Louis fell so ill that bystanders thought he had already expired. But suddenly awakening from his trance, he called for a crucifix, and vowed himself to the service of God for the recovery of Jerusalem. He

arrived towards the end of 1248 at Cyprus at the head of 50,000 Crusaders, among them 2,800 knights. He was royally received by Henry of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, in the midst of great preparations for the expedition. The following May the royal fleet, 1800 vessels, started for Egypt, but owing to a storm which scattered the ships only 900 arrived with St. Louis at Damietta. He had hardly landed when the Saracens fled in terror from the city, and abandoned the great port to the Crusaders. When the rest of the fleet had gathered, a council of war determined to push on to Cairo. After the arrival of a new fleet with English Crusaders under William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, the expedition was set on foot. But the impetuosity of Robert of Artois, the king's brother, and William Longsword, in the attack of Mansurah, brought disaster on the army. Robert with 200 knights, 200 Templars and William of Salisbury with nearly all the English were slain. The fighting spread to the main army, cut off from the van by the rising Nile. The Crusaders were surrounded by the Mamelukes, the slave-soldiers bought and drilled for war by Malek el Saleh. St. Louis after exertions worthy of the English Richard fell with his army into Moslem captivity. The mass of the captives, 10,000 Crusaders, were left the choice to embrace the Islam or to die. Louis had the bitterness of seeing a few apostatize, but the vast majority stood firm and died for the faith. Louis and the great lords were ransomed at the price of 100,000 livres and the evacuation of Damietta. But no threat had been able to induce the king to surrender a single Christian fortress in Syria.

577. The Mameluke Revolution — St. Louis in Syria. — Malek el Saleh had died soon after the arrival of the Christians, leaving the rule of Egypt in the hands of his son Turanshah. The treaty which he concluded with the Christians excited a revolt among the Mamelukes in which Turanshah the last Sultan of the House of Saladin was slain. From 1254 the Mamelukes made and unmade sultans at their discretion. It was to the new rulers that after fresh negotiations Damietta was delivered and the ransom paid, 1250. Louis the Saint with the remnants of his army then sailed to Syria, rebuilt Caesarea, Jaffa and Sidon, released prisoners and children from captivity, procured many local advantages to the

Christians and made a pilgrimage to Nazareth. The death of his mother, who again had acted as regent during his absence, recalled Louis to France in 1254.

578 **Internal Administration.** — The time between Louis' first and second Crusade was chiefly spent in the peaceful work of a king who considers it his first duty to be a father to his people. He continued to consolidate the royal power in the interests of justice and order. He gradually concentrated the administration of justice in the crown, opened appeals from any baronial court to the king's court and abolished judicial combats, the right of private feuds, and knightly tournaments, which were more and more assuming a deadly character. He made the barons treat their dependents with the same rigid justice as he treated them.

In addition to the *bailli* in the north and the *sénéchal* in the south, who represented the king in each province, and corresponded in some sense to the English sheriff, he made the ancient office of missi dominici (enquesteurs) a permanent institution. He divided the royal court into three bodies, the Grand Council, forming the political and administrative centre of France; the Parliament of Paris, the most important of the twelve parliaments of the kingdom, which, in France, were not deliberative but judicial bodies; and the Masters of Accounts (Maitres de Comptes), who received from the baillis and administered the royal revenues. In the local parliaments that passed sentence in the king's name, eminent jurists sat with the peers of the land as legal advisers. The king was the recognized arbiter of the cities. The customary rights of the communes were put on record and enlarged by royal decrees. Many new towns, especially in southern France with their flourishing trade and industry, owed their existence to the enlightened enterprise of the king. The character, virtues and institutions of St. Louis and his reputation for impartiality and love of peace and justice made him the first prince in Christendom, the general peacemaker in every European quarrel, and France the chief power of Europe.

579. **St. Louis and the Church.** — In the great struggle between the Church and Frederic II. the policy of St. Louis was expectant and conciliatory rather than aggressive, but when Frederic made preparations to attack Innocent IV. at Lyons, St Louis stood ready to defend the Holy Father with all the resources of the kingdom, and Frederic gave up the design. The king showed extraordinary favor to the Mendicant Orders, the Dominican and Franciscan Friars, and firmly established them at the University of Paris. Although St. Louis carried on a few juridical controversies with French bishops and the Holy See, chiefly about the revenues of vacant sees and the right of nomination to certain benefices, yet he was a model of submission to the Vicar of Christ and to the teachings of the Church. The so-called Gallicans, a school of French clergymen and jurists, whose bias tended to depress the rights of the Holy See in favor of the kings, maintained that

Louis was the author of a Pragmatic Sanction bearing his name. A Pragmatic sanction in France signifies a law about ecclesiastical affairs issued by the king after consultation with the bishops, whilst in German history it signifies a disposition regarding imperial cities or provinces made by the Emperor after consultation with the diet.

The "Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis" is a forgery of the fifteenth century. It is mentioned for the first time in 1438, and owes its name probably to the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, drawn up in that year by an assembly of French bishops. The document in question protests in rather bitter terms against papal taxation of church property in France and other usurpations and exactions of the Holy See, and insists upon special privileges of the "Gallican" Church. But all the conditions presented in the document, the language, the title of royal officers, the grievances of the bishops, apply to the fifteenth and not to the thirteenth century. The complaints, especially against papal taxation, could never have been made by St. Louis, because it was he himself who received and in his two Crusades disbursed the taxes levied by the Pope on the church property of France. Both the spirit and the language of the "Sanction" are at variance with the character, the principles and the sanctity of St. Louis.

580. Second Crusade of St. Louis, 1270. End of the Christian Realm in the East. — The Mamelukes of Egypt threatened the very existence of what remained of the Christian realm in Syria. Jaffa, Antioch, and other Christian places fell into their hands in 1268. The churches of Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tabor lay in ruins. Louis the Saint in answer to the appeals of the Pope and of the Eastern Christians, made extensive preparations for a new Crusade, and was ready to start with his son Philip, the kings of Navarre and Aragon, the count of Flanders, and many other barons, in 1270. A storm carried the fleet to Cagliari in Sardinia. The hope in the conversion of the king of Tunis, and the promise of assistance made by Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, now king of Sicily, led to the decision of the Crusaders to sail first to Tunis. The army had occupied the harbor of Tunis and the site of ancient Carthage, when a plague broke out, and carried away the holy king among its victims. On Sunday, August 24, he received the last sacraments from the hand of Geoffrey of Beaulieu to whom we owe the history of this Crusade. During the night, as he lay on his couch of ashes, the words "Jerusalem, Jerusalem," again and again escaped his lips. Towards morning he was heard to pray for his people of France, and soon after expired with the words: "Into

Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my soul." The barons and the army paid homage to his son Philip III. the Bold. Charles of Anjou and prince Edward of England, the son of Henry III., the leader of the English Crusaders, arrived after the death of the sainted king. The Crusaders by two victorious battles obtained, among other favorable terms, a ten years' truce, the liberation of the Christian captives and the free exercise of the Christian religion in the whole kingdom. While Philip III. led the French Crusaders home, prince Edward proceeded the following year to Palestine. Beyond the strengthening of Acre and the taking of Bethlehem, he could effect little. Barely escaping assassination by an emissary of the Old Man of the Mountain at Acre, he returned to the West, but to the end of his life cherished the hope of completing the work of his youth. Neither could the two expeditions of Charles of Anjou (1278, 1283), stop the conquering progress of the Mamelukes. After the fall of Tripoli (1289) and Acre (1291), the Christians evacuated Tyrus, Sidon and Berytus. Of all the principalities founded by the Christians in the Orient only Cyprus remained, to which the Knights of St. John, who with the Templars had transferred their seat to Cyprus after the fall of Acre, added the island of Rhodes by conquest from the Byzantine Empire. The Teutonic Knights transferred the seat of the Grand-master first to Venice, before choosing a headquarters more congenial to their nationality. Under the Grand-master Herman of Salza a detachment of Teutonic Knights had begun the conquest and conversion of the heathen Prussians, who were a constant danger to the northeastern frontier of Germany. Under great difficulties they had succeeded in their work, and had established a well-ordered government by 1286. In 1309 the residence of the Grand-master was transferred from Venice to Marienburg, the capital of the Prussian territory of the Teutonic Order. In alliance with the Knights of the Sword, a military brotherhood founded in 1200 by bishop Albert of Riga, they gradually overcame the resistance of the barbarous inhabitants of Livonia, Curland and Prussia, and confined heathenism to its last resort in northern Europe, Lithuania. The conversion of the Lithuanians began in 1386 under the auspices of Jagello, king and founder of a new dynasty in Poland.

581. Philip III. the Bold, 1270-1285 — Philip the Bold ruled France in the spirit of his father. The ravages of the pestilence before Tunis added by the lapse of fiefs, the counties of Valois, Poitou, Auvergne, and Toulouse. Philip III. married his eldest son Philip (IV.) to Jean, the only heiress of the kingdom of Navarre and the county of Champagne. He accorded his protection to Innocent IV. and the XIV. General Council, the II. of Lyons. Apart from his invasion of Aragon his entire reign was a period of internal peace, political and religious.

(1) Sire de Joinville: *Memoirs of Saint Louis.* — *Chronicles of Sire de Joinville*, ed. M. de Wailly. — *Joinville's History of St. Louis:* M vol. X., p 389. — Leroy de la Marche: *Saint Louis, sa famille et sa cour: Revue des questions historiques*, v. 24; *La France sous St. Louis.* — Tillemont: *Vie de Saint Louis* — Wallon; F. Faure: *Histoire de Saint Louis.* — Berger: *Saint Louis et Innocent IV.* — Boutaric: *Saint Louis et Alfonse de Poitiers: Novelle Histoire de Languedoc.* — Sternfeld: *Karl v. Anjou als Graf von Provence.* — Peake (*Book of Heroes*); Guizot: *Louis IX., King of France.* — Masson: *St. Louis and the Thirteenth Century.*

(2) R. Parsons: *A Glance at the Reign of St Louis:* A. C. Q., v. 22, p. 47. — *St. Louis and the Pragmatic Sanction;* M. XI., 366 (old series). — Gérin: *Les deux pragmatiques sanctions attribuées à Saint Louis.* — Viollet: *Examen critique de cet ouvrage* (Gérin's); *Les Recherches de la France.* — Gérin: *Reponse* (to Viollet's criticism): *Revue du Monde catholique*, XXX., p. 497, etc. (1870). — Thomassy: *De la Pragmatique Sanction attribuée à Saint Louis.* — R. Roesen: *Die pragmatische Sanction.*

(3) *Joinville* on *St. Louis' Crusade.* — Riant: On *Edward I.'s Crusade: Archives de L'Orient Latin;* Archer-Kingsford, and other Gen. Hist. of Crusades. — A. Porter: *A History of the Knights of Malta.* — F. de Salles: *Annales de l'ordre de Malta.* — Guizot: *Popular History of France* — Tout: *Empire and Papacy:* ch. 17; *France under St. Louis*, pp. 407-427, ch. 19; *The Last Crusades*, pp. 450-463.

(4) P. Viollet ed: *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis.* — E. Glasson: *Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de la France* — G. B. Adams: *Growth of the French Nation*, p. 81, etc. — Warnkoenig Stein: *Französische Staats und Rechtsgeschichte.*

§ 3.

EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES.

582. Increase of the Influence of the Church and the Papacy. — As the Crusades grew out of the higher religious life with which the reform movement of Gregory VII. had inspired the Teutonic nations, so they naturally reacted on the Church, strengthening its influence and increasing the authority of the Roman Pontiffs who always occupied a commanding position in the holy wars. Whenever the question of a Crusade was agitated, recourse was invariably had to the Popes. The wars against the infidels were preached in their name and carried on under their auspices. At their call the great monarchs or their feudatories took the cross and mustered their armies. Warriors enrolled under the sacred banner, received from the Popes privileges, with the full consent of the monarchs, which, for the time of the Crusade, freed them from all other dependence save that of the Church. Papal legates represented the authority of the Holy See in the armies. The

Popes were the protectors of the Crusaders, the defenders of their families, the guardians of their property. It was to them that the Crusaders submitted their differences, and confided their interests.

The assertion, on the other hand, that the clergy were enriched by the Crusades, is not borne out by facts. The clergy of Germany and some other states, who took a less prominent part in the Crusades than that of France, were richer than the French clergy. From the second Crusade the clergy had to bear the heaviest burden of the expenses. Tribute was freely levied on the clergy by the Popes, who were personally the heaviest contributors to the crusading funds. The Saladin tithe entailed at times positive hardships on the contributing clergy. Michaud estimates that in the space of 200 years the clergy paid more money towards the holy wars than would have been required to purchase all their property.

583. **Territorial and Political Effects.** — Although the Crusades failed of their main object, they nevertheless checked the advance of Mohammedanism, impressed the Moslem nations with the bravery, power and resources of western Christendom, saved Europe from being overrun by hordes of Saracens, Seljuks and Mamelukes, permitted the uninterrupted progress of civilization in Europe, and postponed the conquest of the Greek Empire by the Turks four hundred years. The Spanish Crusades lasting through twenty generations, in which, according to native authorities, over 3,000 battles were fought in a war at once patriotic and religious, confined the Mohammedans to the single kingdom of Granada, and were a school of heroism which produced the uncompromising Catholicity and the grave and chivalrous character, that for many centuries distinguished the better part of the Spanish nation. The conquest and civilization of the princes from which the Prussian monarchy derived both its origin and its name, was the work of Crusaders, the Teutonic Knights. Whilst thus guarding the outposts of Catholic Europe east and west, the Crusades promoted the unification of Christendom at home. Nations were drawn closer to each other. Crusaders from every country of Europe meeting in the Holy Land became acquainted with one another. Knighthood grew into an international and cosmopolitan institution. They quickened and elevated the political life not only by infusing ideas essentially sublime into the aims of entire nations, but by reviving deliberative and legislative assemblies. In France where national assemblies had fallen into abeyance for over a hundred years, the kings and the great men of the kingdom deliberated upon the preparations for the sacred expeditions, the measures for the maintenance of public order during the absence of the kings, multiplied precautions, issued numerous charters of liberties and thus revived and stimulated legislative work. Crusaders returning from Jerusalem with a knowledge of the Assizes of the Holy Land, brought home ideas of a wider, more popular and more perfect legislation than their own, and inspired St. Louis IX. to strike out new paths of legislative and administrative improvements.

584. **Social Effects** — The Crusades exercised great influence on all classes of society. The power of the *kings* was increased by the reversion to the crown of many fiefs that became vacant, and an increase of royal power in those feudal days usually made for greater order, freedom, security and prosperity of the people. A striking instance of this effect is France, from Philip II. to St. Louis. As the *nobles* were allowed by law, during the Crusades, to alienate their estates, this displacement of landed property wrought a displacement of power, because power under the feudal system was based on landed property. The change benefited, apart from the king, chiefly the *cities*. Many lords exchanged their rights over cities for the money which they needed for crusading purposes, so that numerous cities and towns were able to purchase their political liberty. The very *serfs* were greatly benefited by the Crusades. For those who remained at home enjoyed greater peace and prosperity under the Truce of God by the cessation of feudal warfare and brigandage, and those who went to fight in the Holy Land obtained their full personal freedom.

585. **Chivalry.** — The Crusades with their central idea of serving the cause of God, defending the oppressed and combatting the infidels, developed the spirit of chivalry. This institution peculiar to the Middle Ages bound the knights together by a union which kings were proud to share with the poorest of their subjects. Knighthood was the goal to which the ambition of every noble youth aspired. It was conferred only on the pious, the gallant, the modest, the virtuous who had gone through a long probation. Usually at the age of twelve the noble boy was transferred by his parents to the household of a prince or knight of well-established reputation for order and discipline, to serve as page and to learn the military arts. With advancing age and experience the page was promoted to the position of an esquire or squire (escuyer, knappe), in which he had to accompany his master to the field as armbearer, to lead his war horse, to guard his banner or his person, to relieve him when oppressed in the shock of battle, and to take charge of his captives. When he had proved the quality of his manhood he was finally dubbed knight at the age of twenty-one. The immediate preparation comprised a twenty-four hours' fast, a vigil, often before a statue of the Blessed Virgin, confession and holy communion. Thereupon the candidate being armed by knights or noble ladies, was led into church, chapel or hall, and received from his king or liege lord the *accolade* or stroke with the sword which knighted him. His ideals were henceforth the service of Christ by purity of life and readiness of sword, especially against the infidels who held His tomb; unswerving devotion to king or liege, and fidelity to his one chosen lady. This knightly gallantry, as long as it was based on the veneration of the "Lady of Ladies" and kept within reasonable bounds, created at once nobleness of sentiment, purity of morals, and elegance of manner. Thus St. Louis IX. when made prisoner in Egypt, replied to the Saracens proposing terms, that he would do nothing without Queen Mar-

guerite, his *lady*. The laws of chivalry demanded, that a true knight was to forget his own glory and publish only the lofty deeds of his companions in arms. The greatest insult that could be offered to a knight was to charge him with falsehood. If oppressed innocence, if the woman, the child, the orphan, in a word, the helpless implored the aid of a knight, he was bound to respond to the appeal. Indelible disgrace followed every offense against the weak or unarmed. He had to show courtesy, fair play and gentleness even to his prisoners. As the education of the people was shaped by the example of the higher classes, the generous sentiments of chivalry spread by degrees through all ranks and mingled with the character of the European nations. The so-called knight errantry, the spurious and phantastical chivalry of a later age, was largely produced by the exaggerations of wandering minstrels and troubadours.

586. Religious Orders. — In the religious Orders Christian charity claimed all the affection of the Knights Templars, Knights of St. John, Teutonic Knights, and demanded of them a perpetual devotion to the defense of pilgrims and the care of the sick. The Grand-master of St. John assumed the title of Guardian of the Poor of Jesus Christ. The members called the sick and the poor "Our Lords." The Grand-master of the Order of St. Lazarus, instituted for the relief of leprosy, had to be chosen from among the lepers. The Brothers of Mercy were founded during the third Crusade for the purpose of delivering prisoners from Moslem captivity. It was during the sixth Crusade, that the Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis rose to importance. From the 13th century these Orders sent missions into the east and north of Asia. While the Mongol hordes were overturning Empires, ravaging Europe, and threatening all Christendom, poor priests traversed the solitudes of Tartary, penetrated even to China, and extended the Empire of Christianity to the extremities of the known world. The religious colonies which they founded in Asia lasted much longer than the military colonies founded by the Crusaders.

587. Navigation. — The Crusaders gave a powerful impulse to navigation. The inhabitants of Denmark appeared in the seas of Syria; Norwegians assisted in the taking of Sidon; Lübeck and Bremen were represented before Acre. From all the harbors of the West, fleets transported pilgrims, provisions and arms to the Latin realms of the East. Relations of mutual assistance were established for the first time between maritime powers under the auspices of the Cross. The northern mariners undertook similar expeditions to the heathen nations of the Baltic in the interest of faith and commerce, from which new cities, new bishoprics and monasteries, new centers of civilization and religion, sprang up among savage tribes. A communication such as never existed before was established between the Baltic, the North Sea, the Spanish Main and the Mediterranean. Everywhere practical knowledge was increased, errors were rectified, the configuration of coasts,

bays, capes, ascertained, the depth of the ocean fathomed, vessels enlarged and their construction improved. For the first time maritime codes for the protection of navigators were drawn up. The Code of Barcelona (12th century) was adopted by Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The Rolls of Oleron, the maritime code of Richard Lionheart, obtained the assent of several nations and was finally accepted in all the western seas. The Crusades became the training schools for the great discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries.

588. **Commerce, Arts, Sciences.** — The Crusades made the two chief commercial roads, by the Mediterranean to the Italian ports, and through the Greek Empire, Bulgaria and Hungary, familiar to western traders, and rapidly developed and protected their commerce under the standard of the Cross. The wealth of the Syrian cities poured into the West. The Archipelago, the coasts and islands of the Latin Empire became the commercial feeders of western Europe. Commerce maintained its conquests after the Crusades. Tana on the mouth of the Tanais, which drained Persia and Tartary, and controlled the markets of Tauris, Trebizond and Bagdad, became a colony of Venice. The Genoese worked the mines of the Caucasus and received in the Black Sea the treasures of India by way of Astrachan. Alexandria and the northern coast of Africa had its mercantile colonies. The Italians derived the greatest advantage from the distribution of this wealth over Europe. Spain also developed its trade at an early date. The cities of northern Germany, towards the end of the Crusades, began to organize the Hansa, a league of mercantile cities with branches and connections in foreign ports and countries. Masters skilled in mechanical arts brought back to Europe new inventions improving the manufactures chiefly of textile fabrics, glassware and armory. Plants unknown before in Europe enriched agriculture. The mulberry-tree, the silkworm and the silkloom were introduced from Greece into Sicily under Roger I. The sugar cane of southern Italy came from Tripolis. To Boniface of Montferat Europe owed the maize-corn. Of the sciences medicine, geography and history were the principal gainers; 200 chroniclers recorded the exploits of the Crusaders. William, Archbishop of Tyre, is one of the first great historians as distinguished from chroniclers. James of Vitry, Villeharduin and Joinville took the lead in writing history in the vernacular; their memoirs are the earliest monuments of French prose literature.

Michaud; Archer Kingsford (*Last Chapter*) and other *Gen. Histories* already quoted. — A. H. L. Heren: *Essai sur l'influence des Croisades.* — Prutz: *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge.* — T. Keithly: *The Crusaders.* — W. Busk: *Mediaeval Popes, Emperors, Kings, Crusaders.* — C. G. Addison: *The Knights Templars.* — W. Stubbs: *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History:* Lect. 8. — Guizot: *Hist. of Civilization*, v. 1, Lect. 8.

THE CRUSADES.

General Causes.—1. Numerous *pilgrimages* had made the Holy Land dear to the Catholic world.
2. The cruel treatment of the pilgrims in consequence of successive *conquests of Jerusalem*, (a) by the *Fatimites of Egypt*, 969; (b) by *the Seljuk Turks*, 1076; (c) once more by the *Fatimites*, 1095.
3. The spirit of faith and religion quickened by the *Gregorian Reform.*
4. The appeals of the Popes *Sylvester II.*, *St. Gregory VII.*, *St Urban II.*, etc., to the Catholic nations.
5. The rich subsidies which the *Popes* granted to the Crusaders and the protection which they accorded to the families and the property of the Crusaders.
6. The *warlike spirit* and awakening *chivalry* of the age.

FIRST CRUSADE, 1095-1099.

Special Causes.	*Leaders.*	*Expeditions.*	*Military Operations.*	*Establishment of Kingdoms.*
1. The preaching of *Peter the Hermit.* 2. The appeals of **URBAN II.** at **PIACENZA** und **CLERMONT, 1095.**	**GODFREY of BOUILLON**, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and his brothers *Baldwin* and *Eustace; Hugh of Vermandois*, brother of *Philip I. of France; Robert of Normandy; Robert of Flanders;* the elder *Stephen of Blois; Raymond of Toulouse; Bohemund*, prince of *Tarentum*, son, and *Tancred*, nephew of *Robert Wiscard.*	1. Irregular expedition of *Peter the Hermit, Walter de Pacy*, and *Walter the Penniless*, in 1095. 2. Main expeditions 1096-1099. 3. An unsuccessful expedition against *Bagdad.* Godfrey's army went by the way of *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, the rest across the *Adriatic* and through *Epirus* to *Constantinople.*	1. Battle at and capture of *Nice.* 2. Christian victory over *Kilidje Arslan*, Sultan of Nice, at *Dorylaeum.* 3. The taking of **EDESSA** by Baldwin, 1097. 4. Siege, storming and battle of **ANTIOCH**, 1097-98. 5. The conquest of **JERUSALEM**, 1099. 6. The battle of *Ascalon*, 1100.	The **KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM**; first king, **GODFREY OF BOUILLON.** Fiefs: The *Principality of Antioch* (Bohemund of Tarentum); the *County of Edessa* (Baldwin, brother of Godfrey); *County of Tiberias and Galilee* (Tancred); County of *Tripoli* (Raymond of Toulouse). The Constitution feudal. The *Letters of the Holy Sepulchre*, or the *Assize of Jerusalem*, were

SECOND CRUSADE, 1147-1149.

1. The capture of *Edessa* by *Nurredin*, 1144. 2. The desire of *Louis VII*, to atone for the *massacre of Vitry.*	*Louis VII.* of France led the French army. *Conrad III.* the German army.	The armies, the Germans in the van, passed through *Hungary* and *Bulgaria.* Harassed by the Turks of *Iconium*,	French victory on the banks of the *Meander;* In the defiles of the Meander the Christians were surrounded and	collected from the different customs of the Crusaders. *Court of Barons*, presided over by the King; citizens' court under *Vis-*

3. The appeals of *Eugene III.* 4. The preaching and the miracles of **ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX.**		Conrad with a tenth of his forces saved himself to *Nice*. Accompanied Louis VII. to *Ephesus*, and later to *Jerusalem*.	driven back to the coast. Pestilence at *Attalia*, dissensions among the leaders, excessive number of infantry, etc., led to the failure of the crusade.	*count of Jerusalem; Syrian courts* for Syrian Christians. Knights of St. John and Templars.

THIRD CRUSADE, 1189-1192.

				Decline of the Kingdom.
1. The conquest of *Egypt* and the overthrow of the *Fatimites* by **SALADIN.** 2. The union of all the Moslem forces under *Saladin.* 3. Dissensions in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, etc. (see last column). 4. The battle of **HATTIN** and its consequences, the virtual destruction of the Christian army. 5. The fall of *Berytus*, **ACRE**, *Ascalon*, *Jaffa*, *Caesarea*, etc. 6. The capture of **JERUSALEM**, 1187. 7. The exertions of *Clement III.*, and the preaching of his Legate, *William, Archbishop of Tyre.*	**FREDERIC BARBAROSSA** and his second son *Frederic of Suabia.* **RICHARD LIONHEART. PHILIP AUGUSTUS** of France. King *William of Sicily*, whose fleet saved *Antioch* before the arrival of the other Crusaders. *Guy of Lusignan, last ruling King of Jerusalem. Conrad of Montferat* (murdered by *Assassins of the Mountain*). The Counts of *Brienne* and *Bar*, Landgrave *Ludwig of Thuringia, Henry of Champagne*, etc. On the Moslem side, **SALADIN.**	1. **FREDERIC BARBAROSSA** marching through Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Greek Empire to Asia Minor. 2. **RICHARD LIONHEART** and **PHILIP AUGUSTUS** embarked at *Marseilles* for *Messina*. Thence to **ACRE.** 3. All the leaders united their forces before **ACRE.** 4. The exploits of **RICHARD LIONHEART** after the fall of Acre.	Battle of **PHILOMELIUM.** 300,000 Seljuks scattered by the Emperor. Battle and capture of **ICONIUM.** Frederic drowned in the *Calycadnus.* Richard on his way to Syria conquered **CYPRUS** in twenty-five days. **SIEGE OF ACRE**, Aug. 1189—July, 1191. Foundation of the *Teutonic Order* of Knighthood. 120,000 Christians and 140,000 Moslems fell during the siege. Acre taken July 12, 1191. Battle of **ARSOOF.** 300,000 Moslem under Saladin defeated by **RICHARD.** Rebuilding of *Ascalon* Battle and seizure of *Jaffa.*	1. Want of a strong neutral power. 2. Jealousies of the princes. 3. Smallness of the resident forces. 4. Degeneration of the Europeans. 5. Surrounding enemies: *Greeks, Turks, Assassins.* *Latin* **KINGDOM OF CYPRUS.** Conquered 1190; under the House of Lusignan, 1192-1489; under Venice, 1489-1570. By the truce between Richard and Saladin, the pilgrimages to the Holy Places were made free. *Acre, Tripoli, Antioch*, and the coast range from *Tyre* to *Jaffa* remained in the hands of the Christians.

THE CRUSADES — *Continued.*

THE FOURTH CRUSADE AND ITS DIVERSION TO CONSTANTINOPLE, 1197-1204.

The zeal of **INNOCENT III.** and the preaching of *Fulk of Neuilly* and others.

Causes of the **DIVERSION** from the original object of the conquest of **EGYPT**, to **CONSTANTINOPLE:**

1. The conquest of *Zara* in *Dalmatia* (*Hungary*) for *Venice*, in payment for transportation.

2. The *Constitution of Zara*, a treaty which the leaders concluded with young *Alexius Angelus*, to raise him on the throne of Constantinople usurped by his uncle, whilst Alexius promised great aid to the Crusade.

3. A revolution in *Constantinople* which rendered the execution of the treaty impossible.

Conrad, Archbishop of Mainz. Boniface of Montferat; Baldwin of Flanders, and his brothers *Henry* and *Eustace; Dandolo, Doge* of Venice; *Walter of Brienne; Simon of Montfort*; Count *Louis of Blois; Geoffrey of Villeharduin*, the historian of the Crusade.

Greek Parties:

Isaac Angelus, the blinded Emperor. Died of terror.

Alexius III., his brother, the old usurper.

Alexius IV., crowned under the Constitution of Zara.

Alexius V., Ducas, the new usurper, who strangled Alexius IV.

1. The *German* expedition of 60,000 Crusaders, under Conrad, Archb. of Mainz, 1197.

2. The expedition of *Walter of Brienne*, sailing from *Brindisi* to *Syria*.

3. The expedition of *Simon of Montfort*, through Hungary, Bulgaria and the Greek Empire.

4. The main expedition from *Venice* to *Zara* — to *Corfu* — to **CONSTANTINOPLE.**

Conquest of *Berytus*. The Germans returned home upon hearing of the death of *Henry VI.*, 1197.

Local advantages.

" "

1. Conquest of *Zara*, 1203. Ct. stormed and sacked for three days, 1204. After the conquest, wars with the *Greeks* and *Bulgarians*.

THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1204-1261.

Emperors: **BALDWIN I.**, his brother *Henry;* his brother-in-law *Peter of Courtenay*. Peter's sons: *Robert* and *Baldwin II.*, co-Emperor *John of Brienne*.

FIEFS:

1. The *Kingdom of Salonica* (1204-1222), fief of the crown, *Boniface of Montferat*.
2. The *Frank Principality of Achaia or Morea*, fief of *Salonica*.
3. The *Frank Dukedom of Athens* (Villeharduin).
4. The Venetian Dukedom of the *Archipelago*. The three principalities remained under Christian dominion till the great *Ottoman Invasion, 1453*.

GREEK EMPIRES FORMED AFTER THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE:

1. The Empire of *Nice* established by *Theodore Lascaris*, 1206-1261.
2. The *Despotat of Epirus*.
3. Empire of *Thessalonica* formed of *Epirus* and *Salonica*. Conquered by *Theodore Angelus*, 1222. Absorbed by *Nice*.
4. The Empire of *Trebizond* on the Black Sea.
5. The **GREEK EMPIRE** restored, and the Latins expelled, 1261, by **MICHAEL PALAEOLOGUS**, Emperor of *Nice*.

THE FIFTH CRUSADE, 1217-1221.

The XII. General Council, IV. of the Lateran, and the appeals of *Innocent III.*, *Honorius III.* and *Gregory IX.* Chief preachers of the Crusade: *James de Vitry* and Cardinal *Robert de Curzon.*	*Andrew, King of Hungary; Leopold*, Duke of *Austria; William*, Count of *Holland;* Earl *Ranulf of Chester; John of Brienne*, titular King of Jerusalem.	1. The expedition of the German and Austrian lords under *K. Andrew* into the interior, 1217-18. 2. Expedition against *Egypt* under *John of Brienne*, etc., 1219-1221. 3. The *adventure of Frederic II.*, 1228-29.	Attack on the fortress of *Mount Tabor* failed. King Andrew returned home. Capture of *Damietta*, 1219. The Crusaders stopped at *Mansurah* (opening of the Nile sluices); they were foreed to make peace and evacuate *Damietta.*	Frederic's expedition *injured* the cause of the Holy Land. His treaty with *Malek el Kamel* bound the Christians to a ten years' inactivity. The possession of *Jerusalem*, *Nazareth* and *Bethlehem* was merely nominal.

SIXTH CRUSADE, 1248-1254.

1. The invasion of the **MONGOLS** under **JENGHIZ KHAN** and his sons, in the 13th Century. 2. The invasion of *Syria* by the *Chowaresmians*, who had been dislodged by the *Mongols.* 3. The battle of **GAZA** and the destruction of the Christian army. 4. The capture and partial destruction of **JERUSALEM.** 5. The vow of *St. Louis* in a dangerous sickness to take the cross.	**LOUIS IX. THE SAINT.** His brothers *Robert of Artois, Alphonse of Poitiers*, and *Charles of Anjou. Joinville*, the historian of the Crusade. *William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury.* *Henry of Lusignan, King of Cyprus.*	1. Expedition via *Cyprus* to *Egypt.* 2. Expedition to *Syria*, 1250-54.	Taking of **DAMIETTA**, 1249. Disastrous battle at *Mansurah;* St. Louis and his army captured; had to evacuate *Damietta.* The **MAMELUKE REVOLUTION** in Egypt. Release of captive Christians, rebuilding and fortifying of cities, and local advantages.	In Egypt the last descendant of *Saladin* overthrown by the *Mamelukes;* since 1254, Mameluke Sultans ruled Egypt until Napoleon's invasion, 1798.

THE CRUSADES — *Continued.*

THE SEVENTH CRUSADE, 1270-1283.

The conquest made by the Mamelukes in Syria of Jaffa, Antioch, Bethlehem, Nazareth, etc.	**LOUIS THE SAINT**, his son *Philip the Bold*, Prince *Edward of England*, *Charles of Anjou*.	1. Expedition of *St. Louis* to *Tunis*, where he died of the plague, 1270.	Two victories of *Philip III. the Bold*, before *Tunis* obtained a favorable peace for the Christians.	Fall of *Tripoli*, 1289, of *Acre*, 1291. Only remaining Kingdom: *Cyprus*, seat of the Hospitallers and Templars, to which they added *Rhodes*, 1310-1522. The Teutonic Knights retired to *Marienburg*, the capital of the *Prussian* territory of the Order.
		2. Expedition of *Prince Edward* to *Syria*, 1270-72.	Strengthening of *Acre*, and taking of *Bethlehem*.	
		3. Last expeditions by *Charles of Anjou*, 1278 and 1283.	No results.	

THE SPANISH CRUSADES.

Mohammedan Powers.	*Christian Leaders.*	*Military Operations.*	*Catholic States.*
The Caliphate of *Cordova* cut up into several Mohammedan Kingdoms, 1061.	*Sancho the Great*, 1000-1035.	United the Christian Kingdoms:	*Leon, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, Barcelona.*
	Alfonso VI. of Leon and Castile, 1065-1090.	Captured the ancient capital **TOLEDO.**	
The Saracens called to their aid the Moors of Africa under the dynasty of the *Almoravides*, 1085.	**RODERIGO DIAZ DI BIVAR.** Spanish national hero (*el Campeador*) the *Cid* in the Almoravide wars.	*Alfonso VI.* defeated by the *Almoravides* at *Zatacca*, 1086.	
		The Cid conquered and held **VALENCIA** to his death, 1099.	Valencia under the Cid.
	ALFONSO I. SANCHEZ, founder of the greatness of *Aragon.*	Conquered *Saragossa* 1118, and united *Aragon and Catalonia.*	Union of Aragon and Catalonia.
	ALFONSO HENRIQUES, first King of **PORTUGAL**, crowned 1143.	Stormed *Lisbon* 1147, and made it his capital.	**KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL.**
The *Almohades*, the conquerors of the *Almoravides* in Africa, invaded *Spain* in 1160.	**ALFONSO VIII. OF CASTILE.**	The Christians under *Alfonso VIII.* of Castile, defeated by the *Almohades* at *Alarcos*, 1185.	
	INNOCENT III. united an army of *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, *French* and *German* Crusaders.	Battle of **LAS NAVAS DE TOLOSA**, "Triumph of the Cross." 200,000 Almohades slain, 1212. Disaster of Alarcos retrieved by Alfonso VIII.	
The Christians predominant in Spain; since 1248 *Granada* the only Moslem Kingdom in Spain.	**FERDINAND III THE SAINT** of Castile, 1217-1252.	Conquered *Cordova*, *Seville*, *Xeres* and *Cadiz.*	United Castile and Leon.
	JAMES THE CONQUEROR of Aragon, 1213-1276.	Conquered the *Balearic Islands*, *Murcia*, and City and Kingdom of *Valencia.*	Four Christian peninsular Kingdoms: *Navarre, Castile, Aragon, Portugal.*

§ 4.

THE RELIGION AND CULTURE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

589. **The XIV. General Council, II. of Lyons, 1274.** — The Council in which 500 bishops, two delegates of the Eastern Church, 70 abbots and 1,000 other prelates met under the presidency of the Blessed Gregory X., represented the entire activity of the Church. It deliberated on the affairs of the Holy Land and the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches, and passed an important decree about papal elections, in which the rules were laid down for a rigorous Conclave, i. e., the complete separation of the Cardinal electors from the outside world. As to the union of the Churches Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the Greek prelates professed in their letters the Primacy of the Roman See and the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. Thus the union was juridically effected, but practically things remained as they were. It passed decrees for the reformation of the clergy and the laity, for the conduct of the Inquisition, for the government of the old religious communities of the four new Orders of the Mendicant Friars, and for the management of the rising universities.

590 **The Four Orders of Mendicant Friars.** — In a period in which the riches and the power of the Church became not only a means of her cosmopolitan work but also a danger to many of her members, Divine Providence called into existence the four Mendicant Orders, which by their poverty, example and work counteracted the dangers of the time and produced a revival both of religious piety and fervor, and of theological, philosophical and general learning.

(a) St. Francis of Assissi, the son of a traveling cloth merchant, renounced family, fortune and friends and choosing for his bride "Lady Poverty," founded the Order of the Lesser Brethren (Ordo Minorum) or as he used to call his followers, "The Poor Men of Assissi." The sanctity of the founder earned for them the title of Franciscan Friars, and the rope-girt grey frock which they wore, the popular name of Grey Friars. Innocent III. approved their simple mode of life, 1210, and Honorius III. gave them a fixed rule.

(b) St. Dominic de Guzman, a Castilian nobleman, and canon of the cathedral of Osma, a man of deep learning and fiery zeal, after preaching to the Albigensians, settled down in Toulouse, and established the Order of Preaching Friars or Dominicans. His later acquaintance with St. Francis of Assissi induced him to adopt the strict rule of Franciscan poverty for his own Order. From their habit, a black cape over a white cassock, the people called them the Black Friars. Honorius III. in 1216 approved the Order. A peculiarity of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders were the "Tertiaries" or secular members of the "Third Order," in which people living in the

world without vows, and practicing the spirit of poverty and religious life amidst their secular professions, were affiliated with the great Orders. Thus the Mendicant ideal of Christian perfection was carried into innumerable families and societies.

(c) In 1219 the Blessed Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, constituted older communities of hermits into the Hermit Friars of Mount Carmel, and Innocent IV. established them as a Mendicant Order. From their white garb the Carmelites were called White Friars.

(d) In 1250 Alexander IV. united several Italian hermit communities into the Mendicant Order of Augustinian Friars. What St. Francis did for communities of men, St. Clara, the daughter of a knight of Assissi and an enthusiastic pupil of St. Francis, did for the women by founding the Mendicant Order of Claresses or Poor Clares.

In a short time Franciscan and Dominican monasteries sprang up in every part of Christendom, and were soon followed by the Carmelites and Augustinians. By their example and their mortified lives, their poverty, both individual and corporate, their zeal in popular preaching, their uncompromising defense of the Catholic faith and support of the Holy See, their world-wide organization, their combination of the cloistered and the active life, their mission work in Asia and Africa, the profound learning of their members and their controlling position at the universities of Europe, the Mendicant Orders exercised a far-reaching influence on every class of society. Through these Orders the Middle Ages attained their loftiest and purest ideals.

591. The First Universities. — The first universities, representing the studium generale, or complex of the studies of the age, were either associations of students as in Bologna, or gilds or colleges of teachers as in Paris. They grew up gradually as a result of the religious and intellectual revival of the twelfth century. Under Philip Augustus the University of Paris was exempted from the jurisdiction of the city, and obtained its own independent courts; under St. Louis the faculties were organized, the students divided into four nations and the rectorate established. The mediaeval universities were not national but international institutions representing the unity of Christendom. Bologna, Paris, Oxford and other great universities were visited by students of every nation, in proportion as the special renown of some great doctor attracted the wandering scholars. The first universities of spontaneous growth were soon after supplemented by universities founded by popes or kings. Thus Gregory IX. established the first papal university at Toulouse, Frederic II. the first royal university at Naples, Alfonso VIII. the first Spanish university at Palencia. Owing to the great intellectual, political and social influence of the universities Popes and kings vied with each other to enrich them with privileges. The juridical institution, however, and the supreme guidance belonged to the Holy See, the guardian of supernatural truth. The universities founded in the

present period were Bologna, 1158; Oxford about 1200; Palencia, 1209; Toulouse, 1223; Naples, 1224; Padua, 1228; Rome 1245; Montpellier (1180), confirmed by Nicholas IV., 1289.

592. The Friars and the Universities. — The Friars at first conducted their own schools. The Dominicans set the example at Paris and Bologna. When St. Anthony, the close friend of St. Francis, established himself at Padua, where a university was just forming by emigration from Bologna, he turned the minds of his Minorite brethren to the study of theology. The English theologian Alexander of Hales, a university teacher of high renown became the first Paris doctor of the Franciscan Order. Other doctors of great reputation followed his example and joined either the Dominican or Franciscan ranks. As they pursued their own course, defending strict orthodoxy against the more daring and dangerous speculations of the secular doctors, they encountered a long and vigorous opposition on the part of the university regents, and were even expelled from their chairs. But the protection of St. Louis and the support of Alexander IV. established them so firmly at the University of Paris, that their commanding position was no longer challenged. The Friar doctors, the greatest of the mediaeval philosophers and theologians, were thus enabled to develop *Scholasticism* and to bring about the most brilliant and fruitful period of that system which has remained the foundation of ecclesiastical learning to the present day.

593. Scholasticism and Schoolmen. — By scholasticism is meant that method of presenting the Catholic faith, which takes the substance — revealed truth — from Holy Writ and tradition, arranges all the data of religion under a well-knit system of theology, and reserves to philosophy the task of arranging these truths in their logical connection, deducing inferences, solving difficulties and harmonizing apparent discrepancies. In the philosophical part of their work the scholastics accepted Aristotle as their guide. St. Anselm of Canterbury was the forerunner of the scholastics inasmuch as he applied, on a large scale, philosophy to the doctrines of religion, without, however, founding a connected system of theology. He found an imitator in the brilliant genius of Abelard, whose lectures at Paris, Melun and Troyes drew large multitudes of scholars to his chair. But Abelard was by no means imbued with Anselm's spirit of docile submission to authority, and his teachings led straightway to heresy and rationalism. It was St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who, by his trenchant logic and inspired eloquence, averted the danger, and Abelard died reconciled with the Church in the monastery of Cluny under the abbot Peter the Venerable. The real founder of scholasticism was Peter Lombard, the "Master of the Sentences," whose four Books of Sentences, issued 1151, contained a complete body of theology. The great Friar doctors of the thirteenth century brought scholasticism to its full development and perfection. The most

prominent of them were Alexander of Hales (Doctor irrefragabilis, d. 1245), Blessed Albertus Magnus (Doctor universalis), successively Paris doctor, head of the Dominican school at Cologne, Provincial of his Order in Germany, and bishop of Ratisbon (d. 1280). St. Bonaventure (Doctor Seraphicus), the biographer of St. Francis Assissi, held the highest rank among the Minorite doctors. Other great theologians were the Northumbrian John Duns Scotus (Doctor Subtilis), who founded the Scotist school of Franciscans as against the Thomist School of the Dominicans; the English Franciscan, Roger Bacon, who, with Albertus Magnus, was far ahead of his time in the knowledge of natural sciences, and Robert Grossetête, bishop of Lincoln. The Dominican St. Thomas Aquinas, the disciple of Albertus Magnus (Doctor Angelicus), the "Prince of the Schools," surpassed all by the depth of his speculation, the clearness of his method, and the extent of his learning. His "Summa" became the standard work of scholastic philosophy and theology to the present day. He died 1274, on his way to the second Council of Lyons.

594. Trouveres and Troubadours.— In the age of which we treat only two classes of men cultivated literature, the clergy who devoted themselves to prose, and among the laymen, the minstrels, troubadours, trouvères, minnesingers, who devoted themselves to poetry. Mediaeval poetry had its rise in France, whence it passed over to England with the Norman conquest and was imitated in Germany by the poets of the thirteenth century.

The following table briefly outlines the matter and form of mediaeval poetry: —

Norman	*Nationality:*	Provençal.
Trouvères,	*Poets:*	Troubadours.
Langue d'oil,	*Dialects:*	Langue d'oc.
so called from the words "oil" and "oc" signifying "yes."		
Epic,	*Character:*	Lyric.
	Forms and Objects.	

1. *Romances.* The objects of this form of poetry belong to four Romantic cycles.
   (a) Alexander the Great.
   (b) Arthur and the Round Table, founded upon the national songs of Brittany (originally Wales). The British king Arthur surrounded by his twelve Paladins is the embodiment of what was noble in the chivalry of Brittany.
   (c) Charles the Great and his Paladins, chiefly the hero Roland.
   (d) The richest source for the Romanciers were the Crusades with the heroic centre-figure of Richard Lionheart.

1. The *Tenson.* The word is probably derived from *contention*, amatory duel. Of this form of poetry love is the chief object. The whole school represented in the tensons was essentially phantastic, frivolous and to a great degree corrupt. It was connected on the one hand with the forms and ideas of the Spanish Mohammedans, on the other with the lawless teachings of the Albigensians. This particular form of poetry went down, as it deserved to do, with the Albigensian wars.

2. The *Fabliaux*, describing in an amusing or striking way the course of real life.
3. *Satires.*
4. Rhyming or metrical *Chronicles.*

2. The *Sirvente*, derived from the military *services* of the knights, and treating of themes of war, politics or satire. A tenson, jointly composed by Richard Lionheart and his favorite minstrel Blondel is said (by Matthew Paris) to have been the means of Blondel's discovering the king's prison in Germany.

W. J. Townsend: *The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages.* — Archb. Vaughn: *Life of St. Thomas of Aquino.* — Fr. Ehrle: *Der Selige Albert der Grosse:* St. v. 19, pp. 241, 395. — Nicholson: *Christian Schools and Scholars.* — Crane: *Examples of Jaques de Vitry.* — Miss Ida Farnell: *Lives of the Troubadours*, transl. with *specimens of their poetry.* — S. R. Maitland: *The Dark Ages* (excellent). — G. Grupp: *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters.* — P. Lacroix: *Science and Literature of the Middle Ages.* — Th. Arnold, M. A.: *A Manual of English Literature*, p. 25, etc. — R. Parsons: *The XIV. General Council. II. of Lyons; Studies*, v. II, p. 379. — B. Jungmann: *De Statu Societatis Christianæ durante sæculo decimo tertio*, vol. 5, Dissert. 28, pp. 457–499. — Hergenroether: *Kirchengesch.* v. 1, pp. 946-1000. — Laeordaire: *Life of St. Dominic.* — Caro: *Saint Dominique et les Dominicains.* — De Chérencé — O'Connor; Prendergast: *St. Francis of Assisi.* — Sabatier: *Saint François d' Assisi.* — *The Rule of St. Francis:* Henderson: *Sel. Hist. Docs.* — *Mirror of Perfection; Little Flowers of St. Francis* — *First Friars of St. Francis*, M. v. XX, p. 47. — Müller: *Anfänge des Minoritenordens und der Bussbruderschaften.* — Jessop: *The Coming of the Friars.* — Brewer: *Monumenta Franciscana; Little Grey Friars of Oxford.* — Cardinal Newman: *Universities, Mediæval Oxford; Historical Sketches.* — Denifle: *Universitäten des Mittelalters.* — Tout: *Empire and Papacy*, ch. 18; *The Universities and the Friars*, pp. 228–249. — A. Allaria, D. D.: *English Scholars at Bologna*, D. R. '93, 1, p. 66. — H. Rashdall: *The Origins of the Universities of Paris; The Universities of Europe in the M. A.* — Lecoy de la Marche: *La Chaire française au moyen âge.* — H. C. Maxwell Lyte: *A History of the University of Oxford.* — A. F. Marshall, B. A. Oxon: *Oxford, Ancient and Modern*, A. C. Q. v. 15, p. 457. — H. Bissel, S. J.: *Culturgeschichtliche Bedeutung des hl. Franciscus von Assissi:* St. v. 30, pp. 1, 149, 276, 374. — Hueffer: *The Troubadours.*

§ 5.

FEUDALISM.

595. Character of Feudalism. — Feudalism, the "graduated system of jurisdiction based on land tenure in which every lord" protected, "judged, commanded, and taxed the class next below him," was strongly developed by fiefs becoming hereditary. Since land, not money, was the chief wealth of all these ages, fiefs were the ordinary rewards for services done or expected. Hence the necessity and general extension of feudalism. Throughout Christendom the public order was substantially of the feudal type. The condemnation of the feudal system, which the revolutionary school of the eighteenth century has rendered fashionable, is absurd. What by a total change of circumstances would be impossible now,

was necessary in the Middle Ages. It educated the new Teutonic nationalities by a discipline rude enough, but on the whole salutary. Guided by religion it was the instrument of the slow, but sure, elevation of the lower classes.

596. Lord and Vassal. — Besides the essential obligation of mutual support and fidelity, the lord exercised judicial jurisdiction on his land, and enacted laws in the feudal court; the vassal had to do "suit and service" to this court, assisted in the capacity of judge, and had the right of trial by his peers. The lord claimed the right of private war, which was restricted, partly by the Truce of God, partly by the King's Peace (especially in Germany); the vassal had to serve his forty days when summoned, and to go into captivity as a hostage, when his lord was taken prisoner. On succeeding to his estate the vassal had to pay a fine under the name of a relief. Every vassal had to contribute towards the knighting expenses of the eldest son, towards the dower of the eldest daughter, and in a case of captivity, towards the ransom of his master. The lord claimed in many cases the right of "wardship and marriage," *i. e.*, he administered the estate of a minor heir, and married his ward to his own nominee, or exacted a fine, if the ward refused to accept the person of his choice. Besides the military tenants, the free socagers, who paid a fixed sum of money annually, and other tenants holding the land on varying terms, the great lords from the Emperor downward kept a number of honorary officers, viz., the steward, seneschal, marshal, chamberlain, butler. Their offices, originally ministerial, became everywhere hereditary.

597. Advantages of the Feudal System. — Among the advantages of the feudal system must be counted the following: (a) The decentralizing influence of feudalism helped to develop local institutions and self-government. (b) The tie which bound all vassals to the king — in Anglo-Norman England immediately, on the continent either mediately or immediately — as to the supreme liege lord, prevented the formation of petty kingdoms. (c) The obligation of the vassals to follow their lord for a stipulated time was favorable for the defense of the territory and prevented projects of

invasion and conquest. The same forces being spread about in all parts served to protect every country against a foreign enemy, but could not be collected anywhere to assist the designs of an ambitious leader. (d) The defense of stipulated rights and privileges, which feudalism had to defend, naturally led to the ideas of liberty tempered by duty, and these ideas spread in the end through all classes of society. The liberty which the English barons established whilst defending the privileges and right of the feudal compact, became the property of the whole nation. Since, in theory, no suzerain could exact other than the customary dues, or pass laws without his vassal's consent, who in turn was held to represent his subvassals, the idea of popular assent to legislation and taxation was maintained. (e) The reciprocity of obedience and protection, of services and duties, produced a spirit of personal respect and devotion to the sovereign or liege-lord, a sentiment of loyalty which was a truly conservative principle of society in feudal monarchies. Feudalism created that sense of honor, that inviolable fidelity to one's word or pledge, which in the absence of law often rendered men better than laws themselves. Hence the profound contempt attached to falsehood or felony. (f) Society in general derived a great advantage from the fact that aristocracy was founded on land. For territorial property, which does not change, preserves the institutions and manners of a people better than industrial property. The hereditary principle furthered still more the stability and continuity of institutions, and rendered progress possible. (g) Wherever feudalism obtained a firm hold the tendency was to feudalize all land. It was more profitable for the freeholder, to place himself and his land under the protection of the powerful man, than to rely on self-defense. This feudalization of land implied a certain progress towards liberty. Every one shared in the fixity of the soil in which all rights and all duties were immovably fixed. The vassal was transferred with the soil as well as the serf, and the serf had some rights connected with the soil as well as the vassal. The right of the weakest corporation was as strong as the right of the king, because of the same character and origin. Owing to the sacredness of rights and duties inculcated by the Church, to the energy with which the Church defended the personal liberty of

the souls bought by the blood of Christ, and to the influence of Catholic teaching and self-denial, the slave completely disappeared in the feudal order. The serf owes neither his body nor his plot of land to the lord, but only a part of his work and of his income; he does not serve, like the Roman slave, but is tributary. Gradually from century to century the right of the serfs, however narrow in the beginning, extends itself and develops into liberty, until in the Political State no other bond remains than that of subordination, without which no society can exist. (h) The life in the castle, ruled by the lord, tenanted by his retainers, surrounded by the homesteads of the villeins or dependents, all united by the tie of the Christian family, ennobled the bonds of domestic life. "The children, accustomed to their father's presence, learned to love and to obey. The position of the wife, as mistress of the castle in her lord's absence, was raised; she acquired dignity and commanded respect, while her influence over her children was beneficially exercised. Thus in every way domestic virtues were advanced."

598. Disadvantages of Feudalism and their Remedy. — Feudalism had also its evil results; but the principles most urgently needed to correct these evils, were the principles of the Church. Feudalism was essentially aristocratic, sternly maintained a caste-system of nobility; the Church taught the equality of all men in their common spiritual nature in their common dependence upon and accountability to God. The Church moreover proclaimed the doctrine of a career for talents. The highest place in the Church was open to the son of the lowest serf. Her religious houses were so many little republics scattered up and down Europe. Her councils and synods were real deliberative assemblies. Her free institutions were the germ and norm of the civil franchises which sprang up under her fostering care. — Feudalism was warlike, proud of the sword; its model, the valiant and loyal soldier. The sword of the Church was the divine law, which has its sanction in man's conscience; her heroes were the great Saints of the Middle Ages, who rose from the very midst of anarchy, and wielding a commanding influence, were the messengers of peace, order and good will. Feudalism was by its very nature disruptive. If the religious tie of

fidelity, which bound the vassal to the lord, was once broken, the feudal noble retired to his castle and defied his lord or his whole neighborhood. But as political unity perished in the breaking up of the Carolingian Empire, the unity of Christendom, based on the unity of the Catholic Church, stepped into its place and gradually readjusted matters. The Church restricted warfare by the Treuga Dei, excommunicated rebellious vassals, bent the obstinate by the interdict, protected the lawful claims of the kings and the people, and created order out of chaos. Most salutary was the influence of the Church in bettering the condition of the serfs, whose miseries, by the way, are exaggerated by modern writers. The Church protected the laborer with her whole power. The Truce of God protected the peasant, his oxen and even the instrument of tillage. The Church multiplied the festivals of the calendar for the sake of the laboring people, procuring for them days of repose from their labors, and affording them more frequent opportunities to find instruction and consolation at the foot of the altar. The choice of the ecclesiastical or monastic state in any degree however humble brought with it personal liberty. A chief work of mercy, enjoined on penitent nobles in confession or on the death-bed, was the full manumission of serfs. On the estates of the churches and monasteries which attracted a numerous population of peasants around them, and even on the lands of the better nobles, the laborers were better cared for than the average wage-earners of the 19th century. It is a significant fact that when Louis X. in 1315 offered liberty to any serf who might require it, on payment of a sum of release, very many refused the benefit offered them from an unwillingness to change their condition.

Wright: *Feudal Manuals of Eng. Hist.* — Round: *Feudal England; Introduction of Knight Service:* E. H. R., v. 6, pp. 417, 625, v. 7, p. 4. — Digby: *Broad Stone of Honor.* — Hampson: *Origines Patriciae* (English). — Kottenkamp: *Hist. of Chivalry and Armour.* — Hallam: *Middle Ages,* ch. 8. — Sir Henry S. Maine: *Dissertation on English Laws and Customs.* — A. Bell: *Hist. Sketches of Feudal Life.* — Fustel de Coulanges: *Recherches sur quelques Problèmes d'Histoire* (on Feudalism). — Canon Brownlow: *Slavery and Serfdom in Europe;* also in M. beginning '90, Jan., etc.; Katholik, '79, 2, p. 189. — Lacroix: *Manners, etc.; Life in the M. A.* — *Lavisse-Rambaud, Hist. Gen.,* v. II. — *Feudalismus:* H. P. B., v. 37, pp. 835, 946, 1194, 1323. — Gautier: *Chivalry.* — Fling: *Chivalry and Mode of Warfare.*

§ 6.

THE FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS AND THE FATE OF SICILY.

599. **Conrad IV., 1250–54, and Manfred.**— By the testament of Frederic II. his legitimate son Conrad succeeded both in Germany and the Sicilies. Whilst in Germany he had to fight for his inheritance with the rival king William of Holland, his illegitimate brother Manfred ruled Naples and Sicily as governor. Making no headway against his rival, Conrad abandoned Germany, marched to Italy and took Capua, Naples and other towns, which meanwhile had fallen into the hands of the Guelfs and recognized the suzerainty of the Holy See. But he suddenly died, 1254, leaving Conradin, a child of two, as his heir. Innocent IV. who had returned from Lyons to Italy and Rome (1242–43), went to Naples to arrange, as liege lord, the succession and to administer the kingdom till the majority of Conradin, but he also died before the end of 1254, and was succeeded by Alexander IV. Meanwhile Manfred, in utter disregard of the rights of the Holy See, made himself master of southern Italy, secured the alliance of Genoa and Venice, and accepted the crown which the Sicilian nobles offered him, 1258. The overthrow of the blood-thirsty Ezzelino of Romano, by a league of northern cities, 1259, left the leadership of the Ghibelline party in the hands of Manfred. The troops which he sent north secured the balance of power in Italy to the Ghibellines.

600. Charles of Anjou, 1266–1284. — Under these circumstances Urban IV., the successor of Alexander IV., and a Frenchman by birth, resolved to make use of his rights as the liege lord of the Sicilies, and to transfer the fief from the House of Hohenstaufen to Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis IX. Manfred had no right whatever to Sicily, and neither Manfred nor Conradin had received investiture from the Holy See. The transfer was effected in 1263. The influence which it gave France upon Italian affairs, created new dangers both for the Papacy and for Italy, but it was perhaps the only thing the Pope could do at the time, as prince Edmund of England, to whom the crown had been offered before, had finally declined it. Charles of Anjou, despite the dissuasion of St. Louis, accepted the offer and was crowned by Urban's successor, Clement IV., 1266. He marched at once against Manfred and conquered Apulia and Sicily. Near Benevento the decisive battle was fought in which Manfred lost his kingdom and his life. The Sicilies reluctantly submitted to the conqueror.

601. Conradin the Last Hohenstaufen. — The cruel excesses committed by the soldiery during the conquest and the harsh rule of Charles of Anjou, induced the Sicilians to invite young Conradin to Italy. The Pope, king Charles and his own mother warned him against the rash attempt upon southern Italy. But undeterred even by the excommunication of Clement IV., he crossed the Alps, was enthusiastically received by the imperialists of Rome, gathered an army of Ghibellines and Saracens, and fought with varying success in Apulia, until the fatal day of Tagliacozza, August 23, 1267, destroyed all his prospects. He had already won the battle, when Charles' reserve, hidden in an ambush, rushed upon the divided and plundering victors, and scattered the Ghibelline army. Charles wreaked terrible vengeance on the cities which had shown themselves friendly to Conradin. Through treachery the prince himself fell into the hands of Charles. The last Hohenstaufen, accused of rebellion and high treason in a court, which Charles summoned for the purpose, was acquitted by all the judges except one. Charles ratified the vote of the one, and Conradin was beheaded on the market place of Naples, with his friend Frederic of Baden. With Conradin fell the power of the Ghibellines in Italy. Henceforth the destinies of Italy ran their course for the most part independently of the Roman Empire of the German Nation.

Clement IV. never approved the murder of Conradin. He rebuked with apostolic freedom the harsh rule of Charles of Anjou, but his rebukes fell on a cold and cruel heart; Sicily had changed its dynasty indeed, but the tyranny remained. Nicholas III. by his energy and prudence reduced the overwhelming power, which Charles of Anjou had exercised during the short reigns of several Popes in the rest of Italy, and reconciled the Guelfs and Ghibellines in Rome and in other cities.

602. The Sicilian Vespers, 1282. — The oppressive government of Charles, and the insolence of the French soldiers in the island of Sicily led to a conspiracy of the inhabitants with Peter III. of Aragon, the son of James the Conqueror, and the husband of Constance, daughter of the late king Manfred. An insurrection at Palermo on Easter Monday at vesper-time in which all the Frenchmen were massacred, was the signal of a similar rising in all Sicily, which destroyed amidst a general massacre of the French

the power of Charles of Anjou in the island. Peter III. of Aragon arrived soon after, and was crowned at Palermo, 1282.

603. Philip III., Peter III., and Charles of Anjou. — The Sicilian Vespers offered to Philip III. the Bold, king of France, a new chance of extending his territory. Martin IV., a Frenchman, and surrounded by a strong French party, appealed to by Charles of Anjou, put Palermo under the interdict, excommunicated Peter III., organized a crusade against him, declared his Spanish kingdom forfeited, and invited Philip III. to take possession of Aragon. But crusades organized and excommunications pronounced for purposes which seemed to involve political issues rather than the spiritual interests of the Church, began to fail of effect. The ecclesiastical censures of Martin made little impression. Peter III. maintained himself in his old and new kingdom. The fleet of Charles of Anjou was defeated. The invasion of Aragon by Philip the Bold was terminated by a plague which carried off the king and forced the French army to return home, 1285. All later attempts to regain Sicily for the House of Anjou failed. Sicily, however, was subsequently separated from Aragon, and ruled by a side-line of the House of Aragon (1291–1409) while the House of Anjou retained the kingdom of Naples till 1442.

604. The Interregnum, 1256–1273. — After Conrad's departure for Italy, William of Holland was acknowledged not only by the Welfic party, but by many Ghibelline lords and by the league which the cities on the Rhine had formed against the encroachments of feudal princes and the depredations of robber knights. The death of William in 1256 in a war with the Frisians gave rise to the terrible anarchy of the so-called Interregnum. For the first time the election of the Roman king, which heretofore had been an affair of the nation, was treated as a personal monopoly of the seven princes who held the highest offices at the imperial court. They were the three Rhenish Archbishops of Mainz, Koeln and Trier, the king of Bohemia, the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg. Of these the Bohemian king Ottokar II. (1253–1278) ruled with greater power over wider lands than any of his colleagues. Whilst the other Slavonic states, Poland and Russia, were falling into decay, Bohemia had steadily grown in importance since Ottokar I. (1197–1230) and Wenceslas I. (1230–1253). German knights, priests, merchants and minstrels were welcomed by the Premyslide king and infused a strong Teutonic element

into the Czech population of Bohemia. Ottokar II. had lately conquered and united Austria and Styria with his kingdom. His very power was a reason why the other electors sought a candidate strong enough to resist a further extension of Bohemia and pliable enough to confirm and extend their own territorial independence. Only a rich foreigner would answer this double purpose. Yet even these considerations were unable to unite them upon one candidate. The majority chose Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England, the minority Alfonso X. the Wise of Castile, the gifted son of Ferdinand the Saint and grandson of Philip of Suabia. Alfonso never entered Germany; Richard remained two years after his coronation at Aachen in Germany and paid three other short visits to the country during the fifteen years in which he bore the royal title. The princes were practically without a head, and disposed of the territories of the kingdom as they liked. Club law or the law of the strongest, highway-robbery on a grand scale, general confusion were the characteristics of this unhappy period. The cities alone, leagued together for mutual defense, offered an asylum of safety against violence. Public clamor and the threatening attitude of the great League of Rhenish cities at last compelled the prince-electors to meet and elect a man whom the nation would respect. The choice fell upon count Rudolf of Hapsburg, a prince of little wealth, but a man of immense vigor and ripe experience, in whom sincere piety was blended with rigid justice and warlike ardor. He was crowned at Aachen, 1273, and as the scepter was not at hand he seized the crucifix and invested the princes with their respective fiefs.

605. Rudolf of Hapsburg, 1273–1291. — Rudolf was acknowledged by Gregory X. as king of the Romans, 1274. The following year Rudolf promised the Pope in a personal meeting at Lausanne, to accept the state of affairs in southern Italy as arranged between the Holy See and the House of Anjou. Later he renounced all regal rights in the Patrimony of St. Peter, and upon the payment of a vast sum of money granted perpetual liberty to Florence, Bologna, Lucca and other cities, thus confirming the separation of Germany and Italy. In Germany he strengthened the power of the crown as well as of his own House. The refusal of Ottokar II., who had still further extended his territory during the Interregnum, to restore the annexed domains to the crown and to acknowledge Rudolf as king, led to the proclamation of the ban of the Empire against the king of Bohemia. Ottokar, defeated in a first expedition, 1276, rose a second time, but lost battle and life on the Marchfield near Vienna, 1278. Rudolf occupied Bohemia and Moravia for

Wenzel, the minor son of the fallen king, and bestowed Austria, Styria, Carinthia and part of Krain, as fiefs of the Empire, on his sons Rudolf and Albert, thus founding the Austrian power of the House of Hapsburg. Whilst his arm did not reach to the north-western regions, where the princes still fought out their own feuds, he was indefatigable in storming castles and hanging robber knights from their walls in Thuringia, on the Middle Rhine, and in southern Germany, until he had effected a complete pacification in these countries.

Tout: *Empire and Papacy: Fall of Hohenstaufen and the Great Interregnum*, ch. 21, pp. 478–492. — Schirrmacher: *Die letzten Hohenstaufen.* — Kempf: *Gesch. des deutschen Reiches während des grossen Interregnum.* — B. Jungmann: *Fata Imperii*, v. 5, Dissert. 28, pp. 430–434. — O. Browning: *Guelphs and Ghibellines.* — Gregorovius: *History of Rome*, Bk. X. (1266–1305). — Sir R. Comyn: *History of the Western Empire.* — C. T. Lewis: *Hist. of Germany*, Bk. 3. — Coxe: *History of the House of Austria.* — Reumont: *Rome*, v. II.

GERMANY AND ITALY.

The Great Popes of the Period.

ST. URBAN II., 1088–1099.	**ALEXANDER III.**, 1159–1181.	**INNOCENT IV.**, 1243–1254.	**BL. GREGORY X.**, 1271–1276.
Honorius II., 1124–1130.	**INNOCENT III.**, 1198–1216.	Alexander IV., 1254–1261.	Nicholas III., 1277–1280.
Innocent II., 1130–1143.	Honorius III., 1216–1227.	Urban IV., 1261–1264.	Nicholas IV., 1288–1292.
Eugene III., 1145–1153.	**GREGORY IX.**, 1227–1241.	Clement IV., 1265–68.	**BONIFACE VIII.**, 1294–1303.

General Councils.

THE X. GENERAL COUNCIL II. OF THE LATERAN under *Innocent II.*, 1139. *Anaclete II.* condemned and the schism healed.
THE XI. " " **III.** " " under *Alexander III.*, 1179. The Peace between *Alexander III.* and *Frederic Barbarossa* confirmed. New Decree on *Papal Elections; Albigensians* condemned.
THE XII. " " **IV.** " " under *Innocent III.*, 1215. Preparations for the *Fifth Crusade; Albigensians* condemned, 70 excellent canons passed for the promotion of Christian life.
THE XIII. " " **I. OF LYONS** under *Innocent IV.*, 1245. *Fredcric II.* deposed.
THE XIV. " " **II.** " under *Gregory X.*, 1274. Reunion (juridical) of the *Eastern and Western Churches;* New Papal Election Decree.

Emperors.

LOTHAR THE SAXON, 1133–1137.	Henry VI., 1191–1197.	*Frederic II.*, 1220–1245.	No Emperor from
FREDERIC BARBAROSSA, 1155–1190.	Otto IV., 1209–1215.	(Deposed at Lyons, 1245.)	1245–1312.

LOTHAR THE SAXON.

Kings and Emperors.	*Germany.*	*Border States.*	*Christianization and Civilization.*
LOTHAR THE SAXON, 1125–1137. **EMPEROR**, 1133–1137. In Italy Conrad of Hohenstaufen rival King.	Civil War: *Lothar* and his Welfic son-in-law *Henry the Proud* of *Bavaria*, against the *Waiblings Frederic* and *Conrad* of Suabia. The parties reconciled by *St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, 1135.		**ST. OTTO OF BAMBERG**, Apostle of the Pomeranians; **ST. BRUNO OF KOELN** (d. 1101) founder of the *Carthusians;* **ST. NORBERT OF MAGDEBURG**, f. of the *Praemonstratensians* (Prémontré, near *Laon*); **ST. BERNARD** Cistercian founder and abbot of **CLAIRVAUX**; The *Cistercians* founded by *Robert* at **CITEAUX**.

ITALY.—First Expedition, 1132-33. *Lothar* conducted *Innocent II.* to Rome, which had been held by the antipope *Anaclete II.*; crowned Emperor, 1133; invested with Matildan property.

Second Expedition, 1136-37. Suppression of the *Schism of Anaclete* chiefly through the authority of *St. Bernard.* War against *Roger II. of Sicily.* The Kingdom of the two Sicilies recognized by *Innocent II.* after Lothar's death. **ROGER I.**

THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN, 1138-1254.

CONRAD III., 1138–1152, second son of *Frederic I. Duke of Suabia*, first Hohenstaufen King.

Deprived *Henry the Proud* of his duchies of *Bavaria* and *Saxony.* Hence civil war between the *Hohenstaufens* (*Waiblings*) and *Welfs* (*Henry the Proud, Welf VI., Henry the Lion*), Welf defeated at *Weinsberg*, 1140. *Pacification of Frankfort*, 1142.

FREDERIC BARBAROSSA, son of the Waibling *Frederic II., Duke of Suabia* and the Welfic *Judith*, daughter of *Henry the Black*, 1152–1190.

Bavaria bestowed on *Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony; Austria* raised to a *Dukedom* hereditary in the male *and* female line. The *Arelate* (Burgundy) acquired by *Frederic's* marriage with its heiress *Beatrice.*

Bohemia under Duke *Wratislaw*, raised by the Emperor to a Kingdom; *Boleslaw IV., Duke of Poland*, and *Swegen, King of Denmark*, vassals of the Emperor; *Henry II. of England* acknowledges Barbarossa's imperial dignity. Alliance of *Waldemar III. of Denmark* and *Henry the Lion*, and joint conquest of the Slavonic territories between the *Elbe*, the *Oder* and the *Baltic.*

The **X. GENERAL COUNCIL, II.** of the Lateran. The schism of *Anaclete* ended. *Arnold of Brescia* silenced. Rise of the Italian municipalities or city republics at the time when in France the *Communes* were favored by *Louis VI.* The law school of *Bologna.*

The half heathen lands between the *Elbe*, the *Oder* and the *Baltic* converted and civilized under the auspices of *Albrecht the Bear* and *Henry the Lion*, by the splendid missionary work of the *Cistercians* and *Premonstratensians.*

As **EMPEROR FREDERIC I.**, 1155–1190.

His Church policy, under the influence of *Raynald of Dassel* and *Otto of Wittelsbach*, was aggressive and despotic. Outbreak of his conflict with *Adrian IV.* at the Diet of *Besançon*, 1157. Adrian's grievances: Violations of the *Concordat of Worms;* Frederic's plan to unite *Sicily* and *Germany;* Dassel's misinterpretation of the word "*beneficia.*"

Bishoprics of *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerania* founded by Henry the Lion. *Lübeck* first German town on the Baltic.

GERMANY AND ITALY — *Continued.*

ITALY.— First Expedition, 1154-55. Frederic punished *Tortona* and other cities allied with **MILAN**, was crowned King of *Italy at Pavia*, and Emperor at Rome by *Adrian IV.* (*Nicholas Breakspear*), 1155. Execution of *Arnold of Brescia.*

Second Expedition, 1158-1162. Subjection of *Milan.* Imperial absolutism proclaimed in the *Diet on the Roncalian Fields. Crema* and **MILAN** destroyed. Election of **ALEXANDER III.** chosen by 23 Cardinals. Schism caused by *Frederic Barbarossa* 1159-1178, (*Victor IV.* elected by *two* Cardinals. *Paschal III.*, elected by *one* Cardinal; *Calixt III*, elected by *no* Cardinal).

Third visit of Italy without army, 1163; the tyrannical *podestàs* changed, but the oppressive *system* maintained. City league of *Verona.*

DIET OF WÜRZBURG, 1165; an oath imposed upon all subjects of Frederic to support the schism. Persecution of orthodox prelates.

Fourth Expedition, 1166-1168. Capture of *Ancona;* battle of *Tusculum* and capture of the **LEONINE CITY.** Flight of *Alexander III.* to *Benevento.* Mock consecration of *Paschal III.* and coronation of Empress Beatrice. Pestilence and insurrection drive the Emperor from Italy. The **LOMBARD LEAGUE** and the foundation of *Alessandria.*

Fifth Expedition, 1174-1177. *Susa* burnt, *Asti* taken, *Alessandria* unsuccessfully besieged. Frederic, deserted by *Henry the Lion* signally defeated at **LEGNANO**, 1176. Reconciliation of *Alexander III.* and *Frederic Barbarossa* and **PEACE OF VENICE**, 1177, including a 15 years' peace with *Sicily* and a 6 years' truce with the *Lombard League*, changed in 1183 into the definite **PEACE OF CONSTANCE**, in which the Emperor gave up most of his pretensions.

Returning from his fifth Italian expedition, the Emperor broke up the duchies of *Henry the Lion*, leaving him however his hereditary domains of *Brunswick and Lüneburg. Westphalia* went to the *Archbishopric of Koeln*, the rest of Saxony to *Bernard of Ascania*, son of *Albrecht the Bear; Bavaria* to *Otto of Wittelsbach.* The royal power was increased by the breaking up of the national dukedoms, the reversal of numerous fiefs to the crown, the prosperity and growing freedom of the cities and their closer connexion with the King.

XI. GENERAL COUNCIL, III. OF THE LATERAN, 1179, confirmed the peace of Venice, and decreed a two-thirds majority of the Cardinals present necessary for a lawful papal election.

Sixth visit to Italy, 1184-86. Marriage of Frederic's son *Henry* (VI.) with Constance, the daughter of King *Roger I.*, heiress of *Sicily*, at Milan, 1186.

FREDERIC'S CRUSADE, 1189-90.

HENRY VI., 1190-97. First son of *Frederic Barbarossa.* **EMPEROR,** 1191-97, claimed the Sicilies as the husband of the heiress **CONSTANCE.**

Violation of the *Treaty of Worms;* murder of the bishop of *Liège;* imprisonment of **RICHARD LIONHEART**, 1192-1194. Henry's attempt to make the imperial crown hereditary in his family failed, but his son *Frederic*, "the Sicilian Child," was crowned at the age of two.

ITALY. — *First Expedition to Apulia* against *Tancred of Lecce*, 1191, crowned by *Celestine III.* The conquest of Naples failed on account of Tancred's resistance and the outbreak of a plague in Henry's army.

Second Expedition, 1194-95. Conquest of *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicily.*

Third Expedition, 1196-97. Suppressed a national rising with excessive cruelty; died repentant at Messina, 1197.

A double election in Germany resulted in the choice of **PHILIP II.**, *of Suabia*, 1197–1208, third son of *Frederic Barbarossa*, by the Waibling majority, and **OTTO IV.**, 1197–1215, eldest son of *Henry the Lion*, by the Welfic minority. Otto IV. recognized by *Innocent III.*, 1202, crowned **EMPEROR**, 1209.

CIVIL WAR IN GERMANY. *Philip II.* supported by *Philip Augustus*, of France, and *Otto IV.* by *Richard Lionheart* and the *Danes*. Otto was first successful, but later in the contest defeated and his power reduced to the North. Strenuous efforts of *Innocent III.* to mediate peace between the contending parties. *Philip of Suabia* assassinated by the Waibling *Otto of Wittelsbach* in a private quarrel, 1208.

ITALY.—Otto's expedition to Italy, 1209–11. Was crowned by *Innocent III*, but at once assumed a strong attitude of opposition to the Church, occupied the papal territory and invaded *Sicily* to deprive *Frederic*, Innocent's ward, of his inheritance. His excommunication by Innocent, 1211, and the defection of the princes and bishops at home, made him return to Germany before the Sicilies were subjected.

The *Danes* under King *Canute IV.* invaded Northern Germany on behalf of *Otto*, and retained some possessions till the next reign.

After the arrival of *Frederic* in Germany and the defection of the provinces, Otto allied himself with *John of England* and the barons of the *Netherlands*, but was defeated by *Philip Augustus* at **BOUVINES**, near *Lille*, 1214, and retired to *Brunswick* (d. 1218).

FREDERIC II. 1215–1250.
EMPEROR 1220-1245.
Sons of Frederic II.:
King Henry, revolted against his father, 1234; died in prison, 1242.
Conrad (IV.). King in Germany during his father's absence in Italy.
Manfred. *Enzio.*
Rival Kings:
HENRY RASPE, Margrave of Thuringia, 1246–47.
WILLIAM OF HOLLAND 1247–56.

Frederic II. spent the greater part of his reign in Italy.

In Germany he increased the power of the territorial princes and of the lower nobility at the expense of the cities by granting them regal and legislative powers within their territories. Growth of the cities in wealth and independence in spite of the royal policy.

In the final settlement of the Welfic disputes Frederic conferred *Brunswick and Lüneburg* on *Otto the Child*, the grandson of *Henry the Lion* (ancestors of Queen Victoria).

Alliance of King *Henry* with the towns and lower nobility, and revolt against *Frederic II.* his

ST. ENGELHART, Archbishop of Koeln, drove the *Danes* under *Valdemar II.* from the districts in northern Germany which they had occupied as allies of *Otto IV.* Decline of the Slavonic States of *Russia* and *Poland*. Growth of the *Kingdom of Bohemia* under *Ottokar I.* (1197–1230) Wenceslas I. (1230–1253) and Ottokar II. (1253–78).

Great invasion of the **TURANIAN MONGOLS** in *Russia*, *Poland*, *Hungary* and *Silesia* during Frederic's third stay in Italy. The German princes and the Teutonic Knights defeated by the Mongols in the *battle of Wahlstadt*, 1241. The

During Frederic's absence in Italy, the commercial towns more and more withdrew themselves from the authority of their feudal lords. Wealth, trade and literature developed. Alongside of the Latin culture of the clergy, German literature was developed by the "*Minnesingers*," imitators of the French *Troubadours* and *Trouvères*, by lyric poets like the Tyrolese *Walter von der Vogelweide*, or epic poets like *Wolfram of Eschenbach*, and *Gottfried of Strassburg*. The Gospel was spread further toward the northeast among the *Livonians*, *Esthonians*, *Lithuanians* and *Prussians* by the *Teutonic Knights* and the *Knights of the Sword*, by the establishment of new bishoprics

GERMANY AND ITALY — *Continued.*

father suppressed in 1235. Henry imprisoned for life (d. 1242).

tide of invasion, stemmed by the forces of *King Conrad*, *Wenzel of Bohemia*, and *Frederic of Austria*, 1242, Mongols retreat to Asia.

(*Riga*, etc.) and by the spread of the new Orders of Friars.

ITALY.— First Expedition to and stay in Italy, 1220–1228. Crowned Emperor 1220. United the crowns of Germany and Sicily in spite of his promise to the contrary and the protest of the Holy See. Quarrel with the *Lombard* cities, 1226. Excommunicated by **GREGORY IX.**, for the *tenth* violation of his crusading vows, 1227.

Second stay in Italy, after his adventure in the Holy Land (1228–29) 1229–1235. He expelled *John of Brienne* from *Sicily*, who during his absence had driven *Raynald of Spoleto* from the *Papal States* *Peace of San Germano* with *Gregory IX.*, 1230.

Third Stay in Italy, 1237–1250. **THIRD GREAT CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE**, 1237–1250. Frederic's victory at *Cortenuova* over the *Lombards*, 1237. War of *Frederic with Gregory IX.* and *Innocent IV.*, 1239–1250. Italy terrorized by the *Ghibellines* and the *Saracens of Lucera*. Second excommunication for many crimes, 1239. Capture by Enzio of the Genoese fleet carrying the prelates of different countries to a General Council summoned to Rome, 1241. **XIII. GENERAL COUNCIL I. OF LYONS**. Frederic excommunicated by the Council. Waning power and increasing cruelty of Frederic. His crushing defeat before **PARMA**, 1248. *Enzio* captured by the *Bolognese*, 1249. Frederic's death at *Fiorentino*, 1250.

CONRAD IV., 1250–1254.
Son: *Conradin*.
Rival King: **WILLIAM OF HOLLAND**, 1247–1256. *Conradin*, the last Hohenstaufen (1254–68), executed in Naples.
Manfred, his half-brother, Governor of Sicily.
Manfred King of Sicily, 1258–1266.
CHARLES OF ANJOU, the brother of *St. Louis*, of France, King of *Naples and Sicily*, 1266–1282. King of *Naples*, 1266–1286.
Peter of Aragon, King of the *island of Sicily*.

In Germany. **THE INTERREGNUM**, 1256–1273. Double election: *Richard of Cornwall*, brother of *Henry III. of England*, crowned at *Aachen*; *Alfonso X. the Wise, of Castile*, son of *Ferdinand the Saint*. *Club law. Anarchy.* — 1273; **ELECTION OF RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG**, 1273–1291.

Italy.— Expedition of Conrad IV. to Italy, 1252–1254. Took *Capua*, *Naples*, etc., from the *Guelfs*. After his death *Manfred* secured the balance of power in Italy to the Ghibellines.
The Sicilian fief transferred to **CHARLES OF ANJOU** by *Urban IV.* Charles crowned by *Clement IV.*, 1266.
Charles' victory over Manfred at **BENEVENTO**, 1266.
Charles' victory over *Conradin* at **TAGLIACOZZA**, 1268.
Conradin the last Hohenstaufen executed in *Naples*..
THE SICILIAN VESPERS, 1282. *Charles of Anjou* confined to *Naples*. Sicily passes over to *Peter III. of Aragon*, and after his death, 1285, to a side line of the House of Aragon (1285–1409).

§ 7.

HENRY III. OF ENGLAND.

606. Henry III. Minority, 1216–1227. — While the papal legates faithfully watched over the safety and interests of the king in his minority, the regents drove out the French barons, restored order, and secured the recognition of the Great Charter, from which the objectionable features were removed. After Henry's second coronation at Westminster, Hubert de Burgh, who followed William the Marshal in the administration of the kingdom, took back the royal castles which had been given away in the reign of king John. Henry's private life was virtuous; no scandalous excesses disgraced his reign. His charity to the poor and attention to the public worship were deservedly admired. He sympathized throughout his reign with the high minded Popes of his time. But this piety did not hinder him from appropriating the revenues of vacant sees, making ecclesiastical appointments for political motives and squeezing money out of the Church and every estate of the kingdom in true Angevin fashion. His chief faults were weakness of judgment and want of resolution, which made him the victim of the insatiable greed of his foreign relatives and favorites.

607. Henry's Personal Administration, 1227–1258. — When Henry III. began to rule personally, elements of discontent began to gather around him. Henry's marriage with Eleanor of Provence, and the marriage of his brother Richard of Cornwall with another Provençal princess, brought a great number of foreigners to England, who were provided with offices and dignities in Church and State. In addition, border-wars with Wales, disputes with Scotland, campaigns in Poitou and Gascony, truces broken and truces renewed with Louis the Saint, kept the king in constant need of money, and caused many struggles about taxation in the assembly of the barons and bishops now called Parliament. Money demands of the papal court, which became more and more burdensome to those who were not on the scene of the terrible conflict which the Holy See had to maintain against all the resources of Frederic II., increased the dissatisfaction. The intrigues of Peter de Roche, a foreign favorite of the king, in 1232 ousted Hubert de Burgh, who whilst maintaining the authority of the king, had been opposed to the promotion of foreigners. Peter's own grasping and treacherous administration roused the opposition of the clergy and the barons. St. Edmund Rich, since 1234 Archbishop of Canterbury, with all England behind him, compelled the king to dismiss Peter, and to restore his enemies to their rights. But St. Edmund was unable to enforce the rights of the Church against the exactions of the king and his favorites. Unwilling to see evils which he could not remedy, Edmund resigned his charge and went into voluntary exile, ending his days in the Cistercian monastery at Pontigny. The other great Saints of this reign, the Blessed Boniface of Savoy, St. Edmund's

successor, St. Richard Wiche, the friend and chancellor of St. Edmond and later bishop of Chichester, and St. Thomas Cantilupe, who became bishop of Hereford and was the last canonized Saint of Catholic England, fought against the same abuses with scanty success. Robert Grossetête, the learned and zealous bishop of Lincoln, was outspoken in his demands for good government and for a restriction of both the papal and regal power of taxation. The most unfortunate step in Henry's reign was the candidacy of prince Edmund to the throne of Sicily. Before the Sicilian fief was finally conferred on Charles of Anjou, Henry III. had accepted the offered kingdom for his younger son Edmund. In return, Henry pledged the credit of England for the expenses which the Sicilian war entailed on Alexander IV. It was unfortunate that Richard of Cornwall, the king's brother, hitherto the wisest and most moderate mediator between the king and the barons, left England to be crowned king of the Romans at Aachen, 1257.

608. The Parliaments of Simon of Montfort, and the Civil War. — Simon of Montfort, in England the earl of Leicester, the son of the Crusader, and the son-in-law of the English king, had gradually obtained the leadership of the barons and the confidence of the people. The struggle opened in the parliament of Westminster, 1258, where the barons appeared in arms. The king presented his son Edmund to the barons as king of Sicily, and announced that he had pledged the kingdom to the Pope for 140,000 marks; 52,000 marks were granted; for the rest the barons demanded the expulsion of the foreigners, the appointment of a baronial committee to reform the realm, and a Parliament to meet at Oxford and hear the report of the committee. The king reluctantly consented. This "Mad Parliament," as it was afterwards called by the friends of the king, drew up the Provisions of Oxford, 1258.

This constitution gave to the king a permanent council of fifteen advisers in which the barons had the majority. The Parliament was to be replaced by a committee of twelve representative barons, who were to meet three times a year and discuss the public questions with the council of fifteen. This arrangement took all power out of the hands of the king and placed it into the hands of the barons. The king between 1259 and 1262 several times rejected and reaccepted this arrangement. The Provisions of Oxford handled by barons who quarreled among themselves, increased the confusion, and led to a civil war, the barons under Simon fighting against the king and prince Edward with doubtful success. Before the end of

the year 1263 both parties appealed to Louis the Saint binding themselves to abide by his decision. Louis, as the Pope had done before him, annulled the Provisions of Oxford, and restored to the king the power which he had before the Parliament of Oxford, but bound him to observe the Great Charter. 1264

Simon of Montford would not submit, and the barons rejected the arbitration of St. Louis. The war continued. In the battle of Lewes, where Henry III. fought gallantly, his cause went down before the barons through the rashness of prince Edward in the pursuit of the citizens of London who had insulted his mother. The king, his son Edward, and his brother Richard of Cornwall, who had returned to England, surrendered to Simon of Montfort.

By the treaty of Lewes a provisional government was nominally carried on by nine counsellors of the king, who was kept in a sort of honorable captivity by the real master of England, the earl of Leicester. The success of Simon roused the envy of some of the most powerful barons of his own party. In the "Parliament of Simon of Montfort," 1265, to which not only four knights of each shire but for the first time two representatives of certain towns, "the commonalty of the realm," were called, only five earls and eighteen barons appeared with the bishops and abbots, all adherents of Simon. Still it was the fullest representation of England as a whole which had ever met, and a forerunner of the perfect Parliament of Edward I. Seeing, however, how much ground he had lost among the barons, he thought it prudent to grant to prince Edward the same show of liberty as his father enjoyed.

609. Battle of Evesham, 1265. — Edward escaped and gathered the friends of the royal cause around him. The decisive battle was fought at Evesham, 1265. Here Simon of Montfort fell with his eldest son Henry. His younger son Simon at once freed Richard of Cornwall. The civil war was virtually ended.

There followed a few more local outbreaks. But in 1267 the last baron had submitted and a statute of the Parliament of Marlborough reduced the relations between king and nobles pretty much to the principles of the Magna Carta. In 1268 a papal legate in a Council of the English bishops was able to confirm the general and profound

peace, which ended the second great constitutional conflict of the century in England, and permitted prince Edward to undertake his Crusade.

Lingard: *Henry III.*, v. 3, ch. 2, pp. 73-181. — Hutton: *Misrule of Henry III., by Contemporary Writers* (ed.). — Green: *Henry III.; The Baron's War*, bk. 3, chs. 2 and 3. — Gardiner: *Henry III.*, p. 3, ch. 13, pp. 185-206. — Stubbs: *Early Plantagenet.— Eleanor of Provence, Queen of Henry III.;* Miss Strickland, v. 1, pp. 244-286. — W. E. Rhodes: *Edmund, Earl of Lancaster* (son of Henry III.), E. H. R., v. 10, pp. 19, 209. — *Richard of Cornwall:* Tout: *Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 48, pp. 169-175. — O. N. Richardson: *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III. and its Culmination in the Barons' War.* — Jos. Felten: *Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln.* — Ch. Coupe: *Bishop Grosseteste and Papal Supremacy:* M. '95, March, p. 404. — *Lives of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury*, by Wilfrid Wallace, D. D.; I. K. Z., '94, p. 358; Frances de Paravicini; White-Patterson. — *Richard Strange, S. J., The Life of St. Thomas of Hereford.* — *Lives of Simon of Montfort:* Charles Bémont: (*Simon de Montfort, Compte de Leicester*); E. H. R., v. 1, p. 157; Q. R. '66, 1, p. 26: Creighton; Prothero; Pauli; Hutton: (*S. of M. and his Cause*); M., v. 9, p. 105 (*character*). — W. H. Blaaw: *The Barons' War.* — Stubbs: *Constitutional Hist. The Struggle for the Charters*, v. 2, ch. 14. — Ludwig Riess: *Geschichte des Wahlrechtes zum englischen Parlament: Der Ursprung des engl. Unterhauses.*

§ 8.

BEGINNING OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND PHILIP IV.

610. Edward I., 1272–1307 — Conquest of Wales, 1282. — After the death of Henry III., his son Edward I., surnamed Longshanks, was acknowledged by all England. Though almost two years elapsed before the king returned home from his Crusade, the tranquillity of England was not disturbed. The ambition of Edward did not aim at conquests on the continent, but he aspired to unite in himself the sovereignty of the whole British island. His first object was to unite Wales with England. Llewellyn, the last independent prince of Wales, had obtained from Simon of Montfort a recognition of his independence. He evaded several times the summons of the king to pay homage, but submitted at the approach of an English army in 1277.

Llewellyn allied himself with his brother David, heretofore his rival, and headed in 1282 a general insurrection. For seven months the Welsh defended themselves with great spirit against all the resources of England, when Llewellyn was unexpectedly killed in a chance encounter with an English knight. The Welsh chiefs submitted, captured David and delivered him up to Edward. A special Parliament summoned for the purpose condemned David to a cruel death. With Llewellyn expired the independence of Wales.

By the sentence of 1283 David was drawn, hanged, disemboweled and quartered. This form of execution became for centuries the legal punishment in cases of high treason. The introduction of the English form of government was rather nominal than real. The Welsh recognized the direct supremacy of the English kings, and received a number of laws from them but practically they retained their ancient laws and customs. Edward (II.), who was born in Wales (Carnarvon), 1284, was presented to the Welsh as *Prince of Wales*, a title which has been conferred on the king's eldest son to the present day. The Marches or Welsh border lands remained as heretofore under the sway of the Lord Marchers, English vassals, who exercised an almost sovereign power within their districts. Not until the reign of Henry VIII. was Wales represented in the English Parliament.

611. **The Succession in Scotland.** — Returning in 1289 from a three years' absence in France, whence need of money and disorders in the administration of the kingdom recalled him, king Edward punished the oppressive judges and banished the Jews who were hated not only by the commons, but by the best men of the kingdom for their usury, forgeries and oppression of the poor. Having satisfied the public demands, he obtained from the clergy and laity a fifteenth of their revenues, 1290. It was the year in which the death of the Fair Maid of Scotland opened the question of the succession in Scotland, five years after the death of Alexander III. (1249–1285), the last direct descendant of Malcolm and St. Margaret.

612. Anglo-Celtic Kings of the Scots.

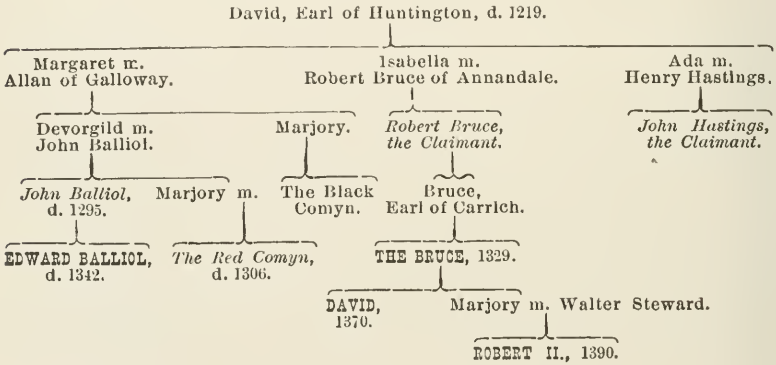
MALCOLM — ST. MARGARET.
d. 1093.

- **EADGAR**, 1098–1107.
- **ALEXANDER I.**, 1107–1124.
- **DAVID**, 1124–1153.
  - Henry.
    - **MALCOLM IV.**, 1153–1165.
      - **ALEXANDER II.**, 1214–1249.
        - **ALEXANDER III.**, 1249–1285. m. Margaret, daughter of Henry III. of England.
          - Margaret m. Eric II. of Norway.
            - *Margaret, Fair Maid of Norway*, affianced to Edward of Carnarvon.
    - **WILLIAM THE LION**, 1165–1214.
    - *David, Earl of Huntington.*

Margaret, the Maid of Norway, was the last heiress of the Anglo-Celtic kings of the Scots. Her death destroyed the hope of Edward I. to unite Scotland with England by a marriage of his son with the Scotch heiress. He now took hold of the question of succession to enforce the claim of his

feudal superiority over Scotland. — Henry II. alone had compelled the king and the barons of Scotland to recognize in unmistakable terms an English overlordship over the whole kingdom; but Richard the Lionheart had released the Scots from this special English claim. Before and after that period of subjection it had been an open question between the two countries, whether the overlordship of England did or did not extend beyond the southern fiefs granted by the English kings. Alexander III. though often pressed by Edward had never recognized England's overlordship.

613. The Award of Norham. — Edward I. boldly assumed this overlordship. Thirteen competitors for the crown of Scotland were in the field, three of whom, John Balliol, Bruce, and John Hastings descended from daughters of David, earl of Huntington, the brother of William the Lion, king of the Scots.



Edward I., 1191, summoned the claimants to Norham to arbitrate as to their claims, demanding at the same time their acknowledgment of his position as liege lord of all Scotland. After due investigation Edward decided in favor of Balliol as sprung from the elder daughter of the earl of Huntington. Balliol paid homage to Edward for the *whole* kingdom of Scotland, 1292. This act of homage which gained him the support of the English, lost him the sympathy of the Scots. Edward, however, had as yet no intention to conquer Scotland.

614. Philip IV., the Fair, 1285-1314, War between France, England, and Flanders. — Philip IV., surnamed the Fair, the unholy grandson of St.

Louis, succeeded his father, Philip the Bold, in 1285. At his accession the spirit of the Justinian law as previously explained by the jurists of Barbarossa began to dominate in France, and to make the "first-born son of the Church" her foremost persecutor in Europe. Two jurists or legists above all others exercised a baneful influence on Philip's policy, Peter Flotte, and William of Nogaret. The teachings of these men, eagerly imbibed by the perfidious, crafty and unscrupulous Philip, gave to France, a far more despotic ruler and conqueror than Philip Augustus had been. The nature of his policy revealed itself in his first dealings with Edward I. of England. Rivalries and hostilities between English and French sailors had frequently led to petty quarrels and finally to a naval battle in which the French were worsted, 1293. Philip demanded satisfaction and summoned Edward I. before his court. Edward who had lost his first wife Eleanor of Castile in 1290, was just negotiating for a marriage with Margaret, the sister of Philip IV. Instead of appearing personally he sent his brother, the earl of Lancaster, who placed the fortresses of Guienne into the hands of Philip with the understanding that Edward I. should be reinvested with them on the occasion of the marriage. Philip then formally withdrew the summons to Edward. But as soon as he had the fortresses in his power, he declared Edward contumacious for not appearing and his fiefs forfeited, 1293. The news was received in England with great indignation. Edward allied himself with Guy of Flanders and the German king Adolf of Nassau, but was prevented from sailing to Guienne by a rising in Scotland. Adolf's weak position in Germany prevented him from lending effectual aid to Edward; on Guy of Flanders fell the full weight of Philip's power. Flanders was now the most populous and the richest country in Europe. The briskness of her industrial and commercial undertakings enriched the towns, Ghent, Lille, Ypres, Courtrai, Alost, St. Omer, Douai, and many others with which Flanders was covered. The people of Flanders were strongly attached to the people of England, as they drew their chief supply of wool for their cloth manufactures from England. Flanders had dearly to pay for her alliance with Edward. Philip overran the country, immured the count and his daughter in a prison of Paris, declared the states of the count forfeited, and loaded the Flemish people with heavy imposts.

615. Philip IV. and Scotland. — In Scotland the patriotic party which longed to reassert the independence of Scotland, prevailed over Balliol, who personally supported Edward in his quarrel with Philip, to name a council of twelve peers, who hastily concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Philip the Fair, 1294. This alliance in its consequences turned the progress of Scotch history and civilization into a French channel and gave to France an

effective help in every quarrel with England down to the seventeenth century.

616. First Perfect Parliament, 1295. — As the war with France and Scotland made it necessary for Edward to ask great money grants from the estates, he assembled with a view of conciliating the nation to these burdens the first perfect Parliament, to which he summoned the clergy, the barons, and the commons represented by two knights from each shire, two citizens from each city and two burghers from each borough. Thus the English Parliament became a perfect representation of the three estates of the realm assembled for purposes of taxation, legislation, and united political action.

Seeley: *Life and Reign of Edw. I.* — Prof. O. F. Tout: *The First Edward* (*Twelve English Statesmen*); also I. K. Z., '94, p. 372. — Lingard: *Edward I.*, v. 3, ch. 3. — Gardiner: *Edward I.*, ch. 14, pp. 208–224. — Green: *Edw. I.*, bk. 3, ch. 4. — Miss Strickland: vol. 1. — *Eleanor of Castile*, pp. 287–310; *Marguerite of France*, pp. 311–325. — *The Ancient Laws of Wales:* E. R., '87, 1, p. 60. — Aneurin Owen: *Ancient Laws and Institutions of Wales.* — Bright; *Foster-Arnold and other Histories of England.* — Stubbs: *Constitutional History: The System of Estates and the Constitution under Edward I.*, vol. 2. — Pollock-Maitland: *The Hist. of English Law before Edward I.* — Charles Bémont: *Chartes des Libertés Anglaises.* — Hon. W. E. Hearn: *The Government of England, its Structure and Development.* — Hannis Taylor: *Origin and Growth of the Engl. Constitution.* (For Scotch affairs see § 9; for works on Philip IV., etc., §§ 10 and 11.)

§ 9.

EDWARD I. AND SCOTLAND.

617. First Conquest of Scotland, 1296. — When Edward learned that the Scots were negotiating an alliance with France, he demanded that pending his war with France the border castles of Scotland should be placed in his hands. The refusal of the Scots led to open war. Edward took and sacked Berwick, 1296. John de Warenne, the earl of Surrey, won the victory of Dunbar and took Edinburgh. Balliol who had openly renounced his allegiance to England, was compelled to surrender, resigned the crown of Scotland to Edward I. and became his prisoner.

The royal insignia of Scotland, among them the "Stone of destiny," at Scone, on which all the Scottish kings had been crowned since the days of

St. Columbkill and king Aidan, were carried to London. The coronation stone was placed beneath the throne of the English kings in Westminster Abbey where it still remains. Edward left Scotland under the government of the earl Warenne, who treated Scotland as a conquered land. Sir William Wallace, however, a Scotch patriot, gathered the adherents of his cause around him, defeated Warenne near Stirling and, assisted by other independent chiefs, drove the English from Scotland, 1297.

618. Second Conquest of Scotland, 1298–1304. — As soon as Edward had concluded a truce with France, he renewed his attack upon the Scots, and gained the victory of Falkirk, 1298. In this battle he tried for the first time the use of the long-bow with overwhelming success against the long spears of the hardy Scotch footmen. Wallace fled to France and the Scots chose the bishop of St. Andrew's, the Red Comyn, and Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, to act as a council of regency. The Scots took Stirling Castle, and held their own through two campaigns of Edward. Only in 1304 was Edward able to complete the second conquest of Scotland. Wallace returned to Scotland in 1305, was betrayed to the English, and was executed at Tyburn as a traitor, although he had never acknowledged Edward's lordship nor taken an oath to him. The cruel execution of Wallace, Scotland's national hero, is perhaps the greatest blot on Edward's character. Edward then proceeded to annex Scotland and to rule it through an English lieutenant.

619. Third Conquest of Scotland. — A new and more successful champion of Scotland's independence arose in Robert Bruce, "the Bruce," the grandson of the original claimant at Norham. His one powerful rival was the Red Comyn, who in a personal meeting denounced him as a traitor to England, whereupon Bruce drove his dagger into him. Bruce then hurried to Scone and was crowned king of the Scots, 1306. All classes acknowledged him and he forthwith began to organize the national resistance. But although he was defeated by Edward at Melven, his country conquered a third time, his adherents dragged to English prisons, and he himself hunted from place to place, he was the true head of the nation supported by the nobility and the people. Reappearing in his own possessions of Carrick, he drove out the English garrisons,

Edward once more set out for Scotland, but died on the march before reaching the Scotch frontiers.

Besides Histories of England: P. F. Tytler: *The History of Scotland from the Accession of Alexander III. to the Union.* — J. H. Burton: *The History of Scotland.* — Mackintosh: *Story of Scotland* (St. of N. S.). — Sir H. Maxwell: *Robert Bruce.* — Sir Walter Scott: *Hist. of Scotland.* — M. MacArthur: *Hist. of Scotland.* — W. Burns: *Scottish War of Independence.*

§ 10.

BONIFACE VIII.

620. Election of Boniface VIII. — Cardinal Gaetano mounted the chair of St. Peter in 1294 as Boniface VIII., after St. Celestine V. had freely resigned his charge, to which by age, character, and education, he deemed himself unequal, into the hands of the Cardinals. His successor had in no way influenced him to take this step. Boniface VIII. devoted a mind cultivated by profound learning and matured experience in ecclesiastical affairs and the energies of a strong will to the noble aim of enforcing the laws of the Church, of pacifying the Christian nations and of setting on foot a new Crusade to the Holy Land. If, in spite of many virtues displayed throughout his troubled Pontificate, he failed in most of his dealings with secular princes, he can plead in extenuation of his faults — sternness of manner and severity of measures, — the changed state of public affairs, the rudeness of his time, and the faithless, violent character of many among those with whom he had to deal, foremost among them Philip IV. It was he who frustrated the earnest and long continued exertions of Boniface to mediate a peace between France, England, and Germany; who insulted the Pope by declining his arbitration as the head of the Church; who rendered futile all efforts for a new Crusade.

621. The Bull "Clericis laicos" in France. — Philip and Edward carried on their wars with money extorted from the Church. Both used for their secular wars grants of the clergy, permitted by the Pope in favor of a Crusade. In 1294 Edward went so far as to demand one-half of the revenues of the Church. The clergy, in a state of alarm, yielded. Heavy demands were repeated the following year. In France the entire clergy implored the Pope to protect them against the extortions of the royal officers. Thereupon Boniface VIII. issued in February, 1296, the famous Bull called from its opening words *Clericis laicos*, in which, under pain of excommunication, he forbade the emperors, kings, and all other rulers to

take, and the clergy to pay taxes on their ecclesiastical revenues without the consent of the Holy See. The prohibition was the enforcement of a well-known ecclesiastical law. Philip IV. declared the Bull an infringement of the plenitude of his royal power.

To vex the Holy See and to deprive it of the subsidies of the French Church, Philip inhibited the exportation of money and valuables from the kingdom, and the sojourn of foreigners, especially Italian clergymen, without the king's permission in the country. But when Boniface in a new Bull *Ineffabilis* declared that the royal counsellors had misinterpreted the Bull, that the decree did not affect voluntary grants for national defense, nor contributions from royal fiefs, Philip suspended his hostile measures. The canonization of St. Louis also contributed to restore, in some measure, the peace between the Holy See and Philip IV.

622. The Bull in England. — In England the Bull *Clericis laicos* became in the hands of Archbishop Winchelsey the means of gaining for the nation the greatest constitutional concession granted by an English king, the concession that for all taxation the consent of the nation represented in Parliament must be asked by the king. Before the issuance of the Bull the prelates had granted the most exorbitant exactions of the king. Armed with this Bull the Archbishop declined in 1297 to grant a money supply. The king, in a great rage, took possession of all the fiefs, goods and chattels of the clergy for the benefit of the crown. The Archbishop had to subsist for a time on the alms of an obscure parish. But the barons and merchants suffered equally under the rapacity of the king. The barons joined the Archbishop and refused to march against France unless their grievances were redressed. Edward was finally compelled to renew the Charters and to add new articles by which he relinquished the claim of levying taxes without the consent of the nation, 1297. This act, which made taxation dependent on national representation, became of great importance in the history of England, and foreshadowed the principles upon which in a later period the American colonies were to sever their union with England.

623. Preliminary Treaty of Peace, 1298. — The following year Philip IV. whose arms had been successful in Gascony and Flanders, signed a preliminary treaty with Edward I. in which both consented to refer their differences to the arbitration of Boniface, not as Pontiff but as a private person. The arbitration rested on the basis of a mutual restoration of the conquests and a double marriage (a) between king Edward and Philip's sister Margaret, and (b) between Prince Edward and Philip's daughter Isabella. Scotland was left to the mercy of Edward, and Flanders to the mercy of

Philip who annexed it to France. The truce and preliminary treaty of 1298 became the definite Peace of Amiens in 1303.

The Institution of the Jubilee by Pope Boniface VIII., Henderson, Sel. Hist. Docs. — "*Clericis laicos*," text: Henderson, Sel. Hist. Documents. — *The Jubilee of Boniface VIII.*, M., vol. 5, 2–12. — Drumann: *Geschichte Bonifacius des Achten.* — Card. Wiseman, Catholic University (*Points on Boniface VIII.*) — Rohrbacher, v. 19. — Hefele: C. G., vol. 4. — Hergenroether: K. G., v. 2, p. 1, etc. — Reumont: *Rome*, vol. 2. — H. P. B., vol. 33, pp. 441, 541.

§ 11.

BONIFACE VIII. AND PHILIP IV.

624. New Difficulties. — A lasting peace between Boniface and Philip was impossible. Boniface strove to maintain the rights of the Church and of the Holy See as he had received them from his predecessors. Philip was determined to exercise his rule with absolute independence from any spiritual control. Church domains were annexed to the crown, pious foundations confiscated for the benefit of the treasury, bishops devoted to the Pope deposed from their sees and royal favorites intruded, the revenues of bishoprics and abbeys appropriated by Philip, the estates themselves alienated. While Boniface VIII. celebrated the first great Jubilee (1300) at Rome amidst an immense concourse of Catholics from every part of the world, Philip IV. laid his plans how to subject the Church to the power of the State and degrade the successor of St. Peter to the position of a patriarch in the monarchy which he dreamed of establishing by the union of France, Italy, Constantinople and part of Germany. The imprisonment of a papal legate, who was robbed of his papers and declared guilty of high treason by a council of State, induced Boniface to employ severer means in the defense of so many violated rights.

625. The Bull Ausculta fili, and its Effects. — Boniface demanded towards the close of 1301 the liberation of his legate. To deliberate on the best measures to be taken for the honor of God, the freedom of the Church, and the reformation of the king he summoned the bishops, doctors and other dignitaries of the French Church to Rome as the men who by their knowledge of the circumstances and their love for the king were best fitted to advise the Pope. To the king he addressed the Bull Ausculta fili, in which he reminded the king in grave but fatherly terms of the many evils which the churches and citizens had to suffer at his hands, advised him of the council to be held and invited him to send representatives.

The Bull was delivered in the beginning of the year 1302. The

count of Artois snatched the document from the hands of the legate and threw it into the fire. A new and brief Bull written in rude and insulting language, in which the Pope is made to claim superiority over the king in temporal affairs, was fabricated in the royal chancery, and with an equally insulting answer of the king thrown broadcast among the people to rouse their national anger and pride. The fabrication was the work of Peter Flotte, whom Alexander Natalis, though a prominent Gallican, calls a diabolical character. To counteract the Roman synod, the king summoned an assembly of the States General to Paris, in which for the first time the Third Estate, or the Commons, sat with the clergy and the barons. For the use of the States General Peter Flotte drew up a garbled statement of the conflict based on the fictitious Bull, and demanded a declaration from the States to stand by the king in the defense of his rights against papal pretensions. The barons and the commons at once declared for the king, and the barons (probably also the commons) dispatched an arrogant letter to the Cardinals in Rome. The clergy hesitated at first, but, intimidated by the charge of treason, they promised to uphold the king in his person, honors and rights, and wrote to the Pope himself, asking him to withdraw his summons.

626. The Bull Unam Sanctam. — Boniface VIII. and his Cardinals refuted the charges raised in the States General. Although Philip ordered the frontiers to be closely watched, forty-five prelates went to the Roman synod, the king in the meantime "taking care of," i. e., confiscating their property. The acts of the synod are lost, probably destroyed by Philip's agents, like so many other documents bearing on the conflict. The general result of the deliberations is laid down in the Bull Unam Sanctam. Whilst Boniface upholds the Catholic doctrine of the indirect powers of the Papacy over temporal affairs, as far as they touch upon sin or the spiritual welfare of souls, his two chief propositions of this Bull about the distinction of the two highest powers and the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power, date back to the most remote Christian antiquity, and are asserted with the same vigor by the Fathers and Popes of the first six centuries, by St. Gregory VII., Alexander III., and Innocent III., as by Boniface VIII. That Pope Boniface, after the pub-

lication of the Bull Unam Sanctam, deposed Philip and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, is historically false.

627. The War in Flanders. — In Flanders the rule of the French conquerors and the cruel treatment of the count and his family by Philip roused the population to a determined resistance. The insurrection began at Bruges by the massacre of more than 3,000 Frenchmen (the Bruge Matins). In the great battle of Courtrai 50,000 French were utterly defeated by the Burghers of Ghent and the Flemish militia; 4,000 golden spurs were gathered on the battle field. Among the slain were the count of Artois and Peter Flotte 1302. Another army of 10,000 had to leave Flanders after an inglorious campaign of six weeks. For the next two years the king strove to retrieve the disaster of Courtrai, but notwithstanding a few successes the undaunted determination of the Flemings carried the day. By the treaty of 1305, he freed the imprisoned count and his family (the count's daughter had died at Paris) and acknowledged the independence of Flanders under count Robert of Bethune, the eldest son of count Guy. As on former occasions the national disaster contributed to strengthen the power of the French crown by the number of vacated fiefs which increased the domain of the king.

628. The Gallican Resolutions of 1303 at the Louvre-meeting, — Boniface VIII. offered in 1303 new terms of reconciliation in eleven articles. Philip answered by a letter remarkably moderate in its tone but full of studied ambiguity, intended to conceal the final blow which he aimed at the Pontiff. For before the king's answer was sent off, Nogaret, the successor of Peter Flotte, previously to his departure for Italy, made arrangements for an assembly of notables to meet at the palace of the Louvre in June.

At the appointed time thirty court-bishops and several barons and jurists met to listen to a writ of accusation, in which the most extravagant charges were raised against the Pope. The Colonnas, an Italian family of rebels, who had been severely punished by Boniface, and Peter Flotte and Nogaret had already prepared the public mind for the scandal by circulating outrageous calumnies in Italy and France. Among other absurdities Boniface VIII. was charged with heresy, witchcraft, idolatry and unbelief. The king and the

assembly appealed against the reigning Pope to a future General Council and a future *legitimate* Pope, the first appeal of this nature in the Gallican Church. The charges and resolutions were read to the people, and royal commissioners had to gather addresses of assent from the clergy and laity in the whole kingdom. Those who refused to sign voluntarily, were forced to do so. After the meeting Nogaret transferred the scene of his activity to Italy.

629. **The Sacrilege of Anagni.** — It was, after all, brute force alone which was to overcome the intrepid Boniface. Informed of the schismatical proceedings in France, he prepared the Bull Super Petri Solio, containing the nominal excommunication of Philip, which was to be published on the 8th of September, 1303. Nogaret and his associate Sciarra Colonna had secretly gathered a body of Frenchmen and Italian Ghibellines.

On the 7th of September they were admitted by treachery into Anagni, where the Pope was staying, and forced their way into the papal palace. The palace was plundered — even the archives were destroyed. Boniface arrayed in full pontifical vestments, seated on his throne, commanded the doors to be opened, saying: "Captured by treason like Christ I will die like a Pope," and calmly awaited the approach of his enemies, while most of his attendants fled. Sciarra and Nogaret rushed into the apartment; the latter announced to Boniface the resolutions passed at the Louvre, and threatened to carry him off in fetters to Lyons to be deposed by a General Council. Loaded with indignities and deprived of food, the venerable old man was meanwhile kept a prisoner by the conspirators. On the third day the people rose, drove the aggressors from the city and freed the captive Pontiff, who forgave his enemies. He was conducted to Rome by the Orsinis, where he died prostrated in body but unbroken in mind, October 11th, 1303.

630. **Transition Period.** — The Pontificate of Boniface VIII. and the reign of Philip IV. are the beginning of a transition period; they exhibit the sinking of the papal power and the rising of a secular state-idea hostile to the Church — a prevalence of state interference in ecclesiastical affairs. Embracing the Ghibelline notion of the State, the kings more and more withdrew from the guidance of the Holy See. The example of Philip IV. found imitation. The subordination of the secular under the spiritual order was denied. The subjection of the Church under the State

could not be accomplished at once, but made progress. The Pope ceasing to be the arbitrator of the princes, the sword alone decided their quarrels. In proportion as the feeling of unity and family connexion among Christian nations was waning, national selfishness, exclusiveness and jealousy gained ground. The separation of politics from morality and religion brought fresh dangers to the states of Europe. The See of St. Peter was shaken but not destroyed. Passing through stormy contests, the Church, her outward form rejuvenated by her own action, was destined to win new victories in the rising age.

The Bull Unam Sanctam: text in Henderson: *Sel. Hist. Docs.;* M. v. 18, p. 428.— *Katholik:* '88, 1, pp. 449, 561.—Boutarie: *La France sous Philippe-le-Bel.*—P. Depuy.— *Histoire du différand du Pape Boniface VIII. avec Philippe-le-Bel.*—Adrien Baillet: *Hist. des démezles du Pape Boniface VIII. avec Philip-le-Bel.*— Hoefler: *Abhandlung d. bayer. Akademie d. Wissenschaften,* v. VIII. 3.—Hefele C. G., v. VI., § 685.—B. Jungmann: *De Pontificatu Bonifatii VIII.,* vol. 6, Dissert. 30, pp. 1–77.—Knoepfler: *Das Attentat von Anagni,* H. P., B., vol. 102, p. 1.—See also *Church Histories* quoted in preceding §. G. M. Bussey and T. Gaspey: *Pictorial Hist. of France and other Gen. Hist. of France.*—J. Hutten: *James and Philip Van Arteveld,* part I, ch. 2–3.

Additional Books for Consultation Covering the Whole Period: Ritter, J. B. von Weiss, vol. 2–6. (German).—Freeman: *General Sketch of History; The Historical Geography of Europe.*—G. P. Fisher: *Outlines of Universal History; A Brief History of her Nations.*—Thatcher and Schwill: *Europe in the Middle Ages.*—A. F. Tyler: *Universal History.*—G. B. Adams: *European History.*— Pütz-Arnold: *Mediaeval Geography and History.*— Ploetz-Tillinghast: *Epitome of Universal History.*—Duruy-Grosvenor: *General History of the World* (English).—General Histories in German: *Annegarn* (2 vols.; also Epitome); Bauer (6 vols.); Bumüller (3 vols.); Holzwarht; Kiesel (3 vols.); Klein: *Leo* (6 vols.); Balfus; Weller; Wiedeman.—*Church Histories:* Bruck; Doellinger; Machler; Wilmers (G.).—J. M. Larned: *A History of Ready Reference.*—Oddos and Arnold: *Catholic Dictionary.*—Dr. A. Bender: *Staatslexicon.*—Wetzer and Welte: *Kirchenlexicon.*

THE FIRST CAPETIAN KINGS OF FRANCE, 987-1108.

HUGH CAPET, 987-990.
ROBERT THE PIOUS, 990-1031.
HENRY I., 1031-1060.
PHILIP I., 1060-1108.

} The succession from father to son. The Kings were first in rank among equals in power. The great fendatories: the *Dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy;* the *Counts of Flanders, Vermandois, Champagne, Aquitaine,* and later *Anjou.* Feudal wars tempered by the **TRUCE OF GOD** (1031), binding on all festivals and from Wednesday evening to Monday morning of every week; only 80 days in the year available for warfare.

THE NORMAN KINGS IN ENGLAND, 1066-1154.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, 1066-1087. Suppression of Anglo-Saxon insurrections, the first 1068, the second under *Hereward, Eadwine* and *Morkere* (Ely), 1071. Revolt of Norman barons easily suppressed, 1075-76. **DOMESDAY BOOK**, 1086.

WILLIAM II. THE RED, 1087-1100, second son of *William the Conqueror.* A revolt of the Norman barons in favor of the elder *Robert of Normandy* suppressed with the help of the English, 1090. *New Forest. Ranulf Flambard.* Extortion and tyranny.

William the Conqueror met his death by accident in a struggle with Philip I. about the *Vexin*, 1087.

THE GROWTH OF FRANCE, 1108-1314.

LOUIS VI. THE FAT, 1108-1137, a pious, strong and able King. *Suger*, Abbot of *St. Denis.* **ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX.** Louis broke the castles of turbulent barons and firmly established the royal power in his own domain. Beginning of the **FRENCH COMMUNES.**

Invasion of Normandy by Henry I., 1104. Battle of *Tinchebray*, 1106. *Henry King of England* and *Duke of Normandy* and *Maine. Emperor Henry V.* with *Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou.*

LOUIS VII., 1137-1180. His marriage with *Eleanor of Aquitaine* brought him for a time the seven provinces of Aquitaine, for whose possession he fought the first years of his reign with the southern barons. *Second Crusade*, 1147-49.

GROWTH OF THE HOUSE OF ANJOU.

During the civil war in England, *Geoffrey Plantagenet* conquered *Normandy*, received investiture from *Louis VII.*, and handed it over to his son **HENRY**, 1149. At his father's death, 1151, Henry became the sole lord of *Normandy, Anjou, Maine* and *Touraine. Eleanor of Aquitaine* being divorced from *Louis VII.*, married *Robert* a life-long prisoner of his brother at *Cardiff Castle* (d. 1134). Marriage of *Matilda, the Empress*, daughter of *Henry I.* and widow of *Emperor Henry V.* with *Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou.* *Cistercians* in France and England.

In **SCOTLAND**, *Eadgar*, 1097-1107, son of *Malcolm* and *St. Margaret*, decided the civil war between the English and Celtic parties in favor of the English. Succeeded by his brother *Alexander I.*, 1107-1124.

HENRY I., BEAUCLERK, 1100-1135, youngest son of *William the Conqueror.* Charter renewing the laws of *Edward the Confessor.* Henry married *Matilda*, daughter of *Malcolm and St. Margaret.* Unsuccessful invasion of *Robert of Normandy.*

STEPHEN OF BLOIS, 1135-1154, son of *Adela*, the daughter of *William the Conqueror.* His succession disputed by the Empress *Matilda*, whose kinsman *David*, King of *Scotland* (1124-1153) brother and successor of *Alexander I.* supporting her claim, invaded England, 1136, but was defeated in the *Battle of the Standard* near *North Allerton*, 1138. After Matilda's arrival, 1139, western England obeyed the *Empress*, eastern England *Stephen*, the north *David.* Castle building; unspeakable violence and anarchy. Battle of *Lincoln*, 1141. Stephen the prisoner of Matilda's half-brother *Robert, Earl of Gloucester.* Matilda "Lady of England." *Earl of Gloucester* captured and exchanged for King

FRANCE, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. — *Continued.*

Henry of Anjou, and conveyed to him *Poitou*, *Guienne*, *Gascony*, and the rest of Aquitaine, the country between the Loire and the Pyrenees, 1152.

Stephen. The capture of *Lincoln* by the King, the death of the Earl and the departure of Matilda, 1147, decided the struggle in favor of *Stephen*.

Thus strengthened **HENRY OF ANJOU** landed in England to claim the kingdom by the right of his mother. *Stephen*, whose son and heir meanwhile died, concluded with Henry the *Treaty of Wallingford*, 1153, by which Stephen was to reign for life, and Henry to succeed him. The exorbitant power of *Henry* in *France* produced a chronic state of war between *Henry of Anjou* and *King of England* and *Louis VII.* and his successor *Philip II. Augustus*. At Louis' demand Henry had to divide his French possessions, making his son *Richard (Lionheart) Duke of Aquitaine*, and *Geoffrey Duke of Brittany*. In the later family wars between *Henry II.* and his sons, and between the brothers themselves, the French Kings usually supported the rebels, and found their advantage in dividing their rivals.

THE HOUSE OF ANJOU OR PLANTAGENET IN THE DIRECT LINE, 1154–1399.

HENRY II., 1154–1189. Period of amalgamation of the English and the Normans. Banishment of the mercenaries brought in Stephen's time. Demolition of castles, strengthening of the Great Council and the *curia regis*. Scutage.

HENRY II. AND THOMAS À BECKET. (1) The contest was waged by St. Thomas for the liberty of the Church and the vindication of the Canon law.

(2) Henry embodied the "ancestral customs" in the sixteen **ARTICLES OF CLARENDON.** St. Thomas, plied with false promises, accepted the Articles. 1164.

(3) Ten of the Articles being rejected by **ALEXANDER III.**, *St. Thomas* withdrew his acceptance, did penance, and was absolved by the Pope. 1164.

(4) At the *Court of Northampton* St. Thomas condemned of treason by the barons, rejected the competency of the court, appealed to the Pope and left England. *Exile of St. Thomas*, 1164–1170.

(5) After having his son *Henry* crowned by the Archb. of York, the King went through the comedy of a reconciliation with St. Thomas at *La Ferté*, but soon after invited four of his Knights to rid him of the Archbishop. **MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS À BECKET**, Dec. 29, 1170.

(6) Henry renounced the *Articles of Clarendon* and was reconciled with the Church at *Avranches*, 1172.

(7) Henry's public penance at the shrine of St. Thomas, 1174.

IRELAND.— HENRY II. AND IRELAND. (1) **BATTLE OF CLONTARF**, 1014. Victory of the Irish under Brian of the Tribute over the Northmen of *Iretand*, *Norway*, *Northumbria*, the *Orkneys*, etc.

(2) Bull "Laudabiliter" of *Adrian IV.*, (?) allowing Henry to enter *Ireland*. The Bull had no influence on Henry's later expedition to Ireland.

(3) Conquest of the "**PALE**" by the *Anglo-Normans*, who were treasonably invited by *Dermot MacMorrough*, King of *Leinster*, 1169-71. *Richard of Clare, Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke*, became Dermot's son-in-law and master of *Dublin*.

(4) The **COMING OF HENRY II.**, 1171, after the murder of St. Thomas. Without any battle Henry was acknowledged "*Lord of Ireland*" by nearly all the Irish chiefs and all the bishops in the Assembly of *Waterford*.

(5) The **PALE**, *i. e.* the territory formerly occupied by the Northmen, since 1170 by the Anglo-Normans, a bone of contention between the two races.

HENRY II. AND SCOTLAND. *David of Scotland* died in 1153, and was succeeded by his eldest grandson *Malcolm IV.*, 1165. His brother *William the Lion* ruled 1165-1214. He joined the English barons who were in revolt against *Henry II.*, 1174, invaded England, but was defeated at *Alnwick* and conveyed to *Normandy*, where he paid homage to Henry for *alt* his possessions in the *Treaty of Falaise*, 1175.

PHILIP II. AUGUSTUS, 1180-1223. In his early feudal warfare he joined *Vermandois* to the crown and, in alliance with Richard, humbled Henry II. *Third Crusade with Richard Lionheart*, 1189-1190.

RICHARD I., LIONHEART, 1189-99. By the *Charter of Canterbury*, 1189, he annulled the *Treaty of Falaise*, and formally recognized the temporal and spiritual independence of *Scotland to William the Lion*. *Third Crusade*, 1189-1192. German captivity, 1192-94.

Richard Lionheart spent his last years in France, engaged in feudal wars, which Philip Augustus had provoked during Richard's absence, until *Innocent III.* mediated a peace between the two Kings.

JOHN LACKLAND, 1199-1216. Tyrannical and dissolute.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS AND JOHN LACKLAND. Rising of the nobles in *Anjou, Maine* and *Touraine*, against *John's* tyrrany; they proclaim his nephew *Arthur*, son of *Geoffrey of Brittany*. *Arthur* murdered by *John*. Summoned before the court of the Peers of France, John refused to appear, and was condemned as felon and traitor to forfeit his French possessions. *Conquest of Normandy* and most of England's *French* possessions by *Philip Augustus*, 1203-1206. **NORMANDY SEPARATED** from **ENGLAND**.

THE ALBIGENSIAN WARS, 1208-1229.

1. **SIMON OF MONTFORT**, the Crusader, commander-in-chief, against *Raymond II.*, of Toulouse and *Roger*, Viscount of *Béziers*, the protectors of the anarchistic sect of the *Albigensians*. Storming of *Béziers*. Capture of *Carcassone*, 1208.

INNOCENT III. AND JOHN LACKLAND.

1. John refused **CARDINAL STEPHEN LANGTON**, lawfully chosen *Archbishop of Canterbury*, and consecrated by *Innocent III.*, to enter England, and banished the Monks of Canterbury, 1207.

FRANCE, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.— *Continued.*

2. Capture of *Toulouse* with the greater part of the county by *Simon of Montfort*, 1214. The *IV. Lateran Council* adjudged the reconquered territory to *Simon of Montfort*, the rest to *Raymond VII.*
3. Renewal of the war, 1217. Reconquest of *Toulouse* by the *Raymonds* and fall of *Simon of Montfort*, 1218.
4. New Crusade against the Albigensians by *Louis VIII.*, who after a triumphant march to the walls of *Toulouse*, succumbed to the plague.
5. Under the regency of *Blanche of Castile* for *St. Louis*, the war was terminated by the *Peace of Meaux*, 1229. Raymond VII. retained county and city of *Toulouse;* the *Venaissin* went to the *Holy See*, the rest of his former domains to the crown of *France*. Raymond swore fidelity to Church and King, and had to endow the *University of Toulouse*, founded by *Gregory X.*
6. Institution of the *Episcopal Inquisition* in the *Council of Toulouse*, 1229.

2. England laid under the *Interdict* by Innocent III., 1208. Cruel persecution of clergy and people by John.
3. Appealed to by the English prelates, Innocent, relaxing the interdict, excommunicated the King and absolved his subjects from the oath of allegiance. *Philip Augustus* conditionally intrusted with the execution of the sentence; the *Legate Pandulph* to make a last attempt to recall the King to his duty, 1213.
4. Moved by fear of deposition *John* yielded at *Dover* binding himself to receive *Stephen Langton*, to recall the banished Monks, and to make full restitution.
5. In addition to Pope's demands, John declared England *a fief of the Holy See* by the annual rent of 1000 marks, with reservation to himself and his heirs of all the rights of the crown. 1213.
6. After the battle of *Bovines* signature of the **MAGNA CARTA**, the **GREAT CHARTER OF LIBERTIES**,, June 15, 1215. The Charter rejected by *Innocent III.* until some inadmissible clauses were removed. Confirmed 1216 by *Honorius IV.*

BATTLE OF BOVINES, 1214. Alliance of *John Lackland*, *Philip II. of Germany* and the *Lords of the Netherlands* against *Philip Augustus*. The great victory permanently secured *Normandy*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Touraine and Poitou* to *France*, and enormously increased the royal power in France.

LOUIS VIII., 1223–1226, engaged in Albigensian wars. English campaign and conquest of Poitou.

LOUIS IX., THE SAINT, 1226–1270. Further consolidation of the royal power. Appeals to the crown from *all* lower courts. Prohibition of judicial combats, private feuds, and deadly tournaments. Grand Council, Parliament of Paris, Office of Master of Accounts. **FIRST CRUSADE OF ST. LOUIS**, 1248–1254; **SECOND CRUSADE**, 1270.

PHILIP III., THE BOLD, 1270–1285. *Valois*, *Poitou*, *Auvergne*, *Toulouse* added to the crown. Unsuccessful invasion of *Anjou* in favor of *Charles of Anjou* (to recover Sicily).

HENRY III., 1216–1272. Royal favorites, the candidacy of prince *Edmund* to the kingdom of *Sicily* and heavy taxation caused the opposition of the barons. **SIMON OF MONTFORT, EARL OF LEICESTER**. Parliament of *Westminster;* Mad Parliament of Oxford, 1258. The *Provisions of Oxford* transferred power to baronial committees. Mismanagement on both sides led to **CIVIL WAR**, 1263–1265. King and Prince *Edward* defeated at *Lewes*, 1264. *Parliament of Simon of Montfort*. Beginning of the **HOUSE OF COMMONS**. Defeat and death of *Simon of Montfort* at **EVESHAM**, 1265.

EDWARD I., LONGSHANKS, 1272–1307. **CONQUEST OF**

PHILIP IV., THE FAIR, 1285–1314; perfidious, violent, unscrupulous.

BONIFACE VIII., 1274–1303, and *Philip the Fair*. The Bull *Clericoslaicis* forbade the rulers to exact and the clergy to pay taxes not otherwise due from church property, without the consent of the Holy See, 1296. The Bull *Ausculta fili* advised the King of the call of the French prelates to a Roman synod, 1301. The genuine bull suppressed, a false bull fabricated by the King's counsellor *Peter Flotte*, 1301. The first **STATES GENERAL** meeting at *Paris* declared for the King against *Boniface*, 1302. Roman synod; Bull *Unam Sanctum* in which Boniface defines the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal order, 1302.

The *Gallican Resolutions* at the *Louvre meeting* and the appeal to a General Council, 1303.

The **SACRILEGE OF ANAGNI**, Sept. 7, 1303.

WALES, 1282. Succession dispute in Scotland after the death of *Alexander III.*, the last direct descendant of *Malcolm* and *St. Margaret*. Chief claimants: *John Balliol*, *Robert Bruce* and *John Hastings*. By the *Award of Norham*, *Edward I.*, who claimed suzerainty over the whole of Scotland, awarded the crown to *John Balliol* as England's vassal for *all* Scotland.

First Perfect Parliament, 1295. Scotch war, caused by the alliance of the Scots with *Philip the Fair*.

First Conquest of Scotland, 1296. **SIR W. WALLACE** drives the English from Scotland, 1297.

Second Conquest of Scotland, 1298–1304. Battle of *Falkirk*, 1298. *Wallace* executed as a traitor.

Third Conquest of Scotland, 1306. **ROBERT BRUCE, "THE BRUCE,"** crowned king at *Scone*, 1306, once more expelled the English garrisons. Death of *Edward I.* on his way to Scotland, 1307.

War between *Philip the Fair* allied with *Scotland* and *Edward I.* allied with *Guy, Count of Flanders* and the German King *Adolf of Nassau*, 1293–1298. Philip successful both in *Guienne* and *Gascony*, and in *Flanders*. Preliminary peace between *France* and *England*. In view of the marriage of Philip's sister *Margaret* with *Edward*, and Philip's daughter *Isabella* with *Prince Edward*, England was left in the possession of her two French fiefs. Annexation of *Flanders* to France. Insurrection of Flanders. **BATTLE OF COURTRAI**, 1302. The French barons completely defeated by the Flemish citizens. Royal powers increased by lapse of numerous fiefs. By the treaty of 1305 Philip recognized the *Independence of Flanders*.

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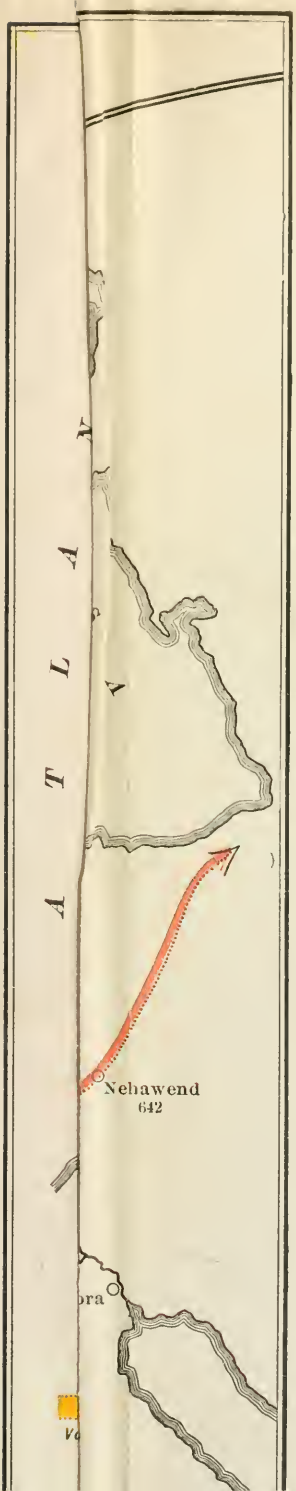
A T L A
Nehawend
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MIGRATION OF NATIONS.
Vandals
Visigoths
Ostrogoths
Burgundians
Longobards
Franks
Anglo Saxons
Turks
Huns
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Cairo
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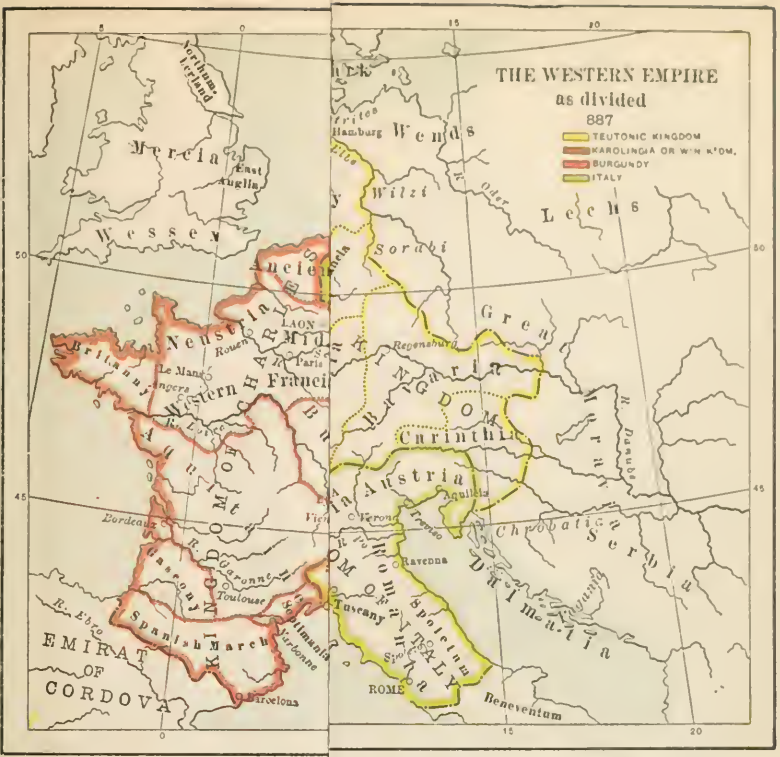
50
45
45
40
40
Lisbon
35
35
BAGDAD
D
A
D
30
30
25
25
CHA
5
40
45

EUROPE
in the time of
CHARLES THE GREAT
814
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE WEST AND ITS DEPENDENT STATES
WESTERN CALIPHATE
EASTERN CALIPHATE
FINS
Swedes
Norwegian
Danes
Saxons
Frisians
Hamburg
Saxony
Fuderborn
Aachen
Austria
Neustria
Bohemia
Bavaria
Aquitania
Gascony
Nimes
Narbonne
Spanish Marsh
Zaragoza
Barcelona
Emirate of Cordova
Cordova
Seville
Cadiz
Lisbon
Cantabria
Aries
Genoa
Milan
Pavia
Ravenna
Venice
Jadera
Spalato
Ragusa
Bari
Naples
Amalfi
Gaeta
Rome
Corsica
Sardinia
Palermo
Sicily
Syracuse
Kairouan
Avars
Turks or Magyars
Bulgaria
Cherson
Perithlaba
Philippopolis
Constantinople
Nikomedia
Hadrianople
Thessalonica
Athens
Philadelphia
Ikonium
Edessa
Antioch
Cyprus
Tyre
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Crete
Baghdad
Caliphate
Bagdad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as divided
887
TEUTONIC KINGDOM
KAROLINGIA OR W'N K'DM.
BURGUNDY
ITALY
Mercia
East Anglia
Wessex
Wends
Lechs
Wilzi
Sorabi
Neustria
Rouen
Paris
Le Mans
Angers
Western Francia
Britanny
Aquitania
Bordeaux
Gascony
Toulouse
Spanish March
Narbonne
Barcelona
EMIRAT OF CORDOVA
Regensburg
Carinthia
Austria
Aquileia
Verona
Ravenna
Tuscany
Spoletum
ROME
Beneventum
Chrobatia
Serbia
Dalmatia
Moravia
Great Moravia
Hamburg
Elbe
Oder
Danube
Garonne
Ebro

CENTRAL EUROPE
C. 980
WESTERN EMPIRE
KAROLINGIA OR W'N KINGDOM
BURGUNDY
Mercia
East Anglia
Wessex
Northumberland
Hamburg
Pomerania
Magdeburg
Elbe
Oder
Meissen
POLAND
Flanders
Neustria
Rouen
Paris
Le Mans
Angers
Western Francia
Britanny
Aquitania
Bordeaux
Gascony
Toulouse
Spanish March
Narbonne
Barcelona
EMIRAT OF CORDOVA
Regensburg
Bohemia
Moravia
Austria
Carinthia
HUNGARY
Chrobatia
Serbia
Dalmatia
Tuscany
Spoletum
ROME
Garonne
Ebro

THE WESTERN EMPIRE
as divided at Verdun
843
LOTHAR
LEWIS
CHARLES
Dades
Wends
Mercia
Wessex
Saxony
Lechs
Ancient Francia
Austria
Czechs
Chrobatia
Neustria
Mid. Francia
Western Francia
Alamania
Bavaria
Carinthia
Austria
Serbia
Romania
Dalmatia
Corsica
ROME
Beneventum
EMIRAT OF CORDOVA
Spanish March
Tarragona

THE WESTERN EMPIRE
as divided
887
TEUTONIC KINGDOM
KAROLINGIA OR W'N K'DM.
BURGUNDY
ITALY
Denmark
Wends
Wessex
Saxony
Lechs
Flanders
Western Francia
Alamania
Carinthia
Austria
Serbia
Dalmatia
Corsica
ROME
Beneventum
EMIRAT OF CORDOVA
Spanish March
Barcelona

THE WESTERN EMPIRE
as divided
870
LOTHAR
LEWIS THE GERMAN
CHARLES
Denmark
Wends
Mercia
Wessex
Saxony
Lechs
Flanders
Austria
Czechs
Chrobatia
Neustria
Western Francia
Alamania
Carinthia
Austria
Serbia
Dalmatia
Corsica
ROME
Beneventum
EMIRAT OF CORDOVA
Spanish March
Barcelona

CENTRAL EUROPE
0. 980
WESTERN EMPIRES
KAROLINGIA OR W'N KINGDOM
BURGUNDY
Denmark
Meissen
POLAND
Flanders
Lower Lotharingia
Upper Lotharingia
Bohemia
Moravia
Chrobatia
Norman
Aquitaine
Alamania
Carinthia
HUNGARY
Serbia
Dalmatia
Corsica
ROME
Spanish March
Barcelona

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
C. 1040-1070.
EASTERN EMPIRE
INDEPENDENT SLAVES
MAGYAR KINGDOM

CENTRAL EUROPE
1180.
WESTERN EMPIRE
K. OF FRANCE & VASTAL STATES
HOUSE OF ANJOU
HOUSE OF AUSTRIA
BRANDENBURG
ARAGON

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
C. 1105.
EASTERN EMPIRE
INDEPENDENT SLAVES
MAGYAR KINGDOM
NORMAN POWERS
LATIN POWERS IN THE EAST
TURKS

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
C. 1210.
GREEK POWERS
LATIN POWERS IN THE EAST
SICILIAN KINGDOM
VENETIAN
GENOESE
BULGARIAN KINGDOM
INDEPENDENT SLAVES
MAGYAR KINGDOM
TURKS
THE HEAD STATES, GREEK AND LATIN ARE FULL COLORED